

T H E H I S T O R Y O F T H E P Y R A T E S,

Containing the L I V E S of

Captain <i>Misson.</i>	}	Captain <i>Fly.</i>
Captain <i>Bowen.</i>	}	Captain <i>Howard.</i>
Captain <i>Kidd.</i>	}	Captain <i>Lewis.</i>
Captain <i>Tew.</i>	}	Captain <i>Cornelius.</i>
Captain <i>Halfey.</i>	}	Captain <i>Williams.</i>
Captain <i>White.</i>	}	Captain <i>Burges.</i>
Captain <i>Condent.</i>	}	Captain <i>North.</i>
Captain <i>Bellamy.</i>	}	

And their several C R E W S.

Intermix'd with a

Description of *MAGADOKA* in *Ethiopia*; the natural Hatred and Cruelty of the Inhabitants to all Whites; their Laws, Manners, Customs, Government and Religion: With a particular ACCOUNT of the beautiful Tombs, and their Ceremony of guarding them, taken from Captain *Beavis's* Journal; and that of a *Molotto*, who belong'd to the said Captain, was taken by, and lived several Years with the *MAGADOKIANS*.

To the Whole is added

An APPENDIX, which compleats the Lives of the first Volume, corrects some Mistakes; and contains the Tryal and Execution of the Pyrates at *Providence*; under Governor *Rogers*; with some other necessary Insertions, which did not come to Hand till after the Publication of the first Volume, and which makes up what was defective. Collected from Journals of Pyrates, brought away by a Person who was taken by, and forc'd to live with them 12 Years; and from those of Commanders, who had fallen into their Hands, some of whom have permitted their Names to be made use of, as a Proof of the Veracity of what we have published. The Whole instructive and entertaining.

V O L. II.

By Capt. CHARLES JOHNSON, Author of Vol. I.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci. Hor.

L O N D O N:

Printed for, and Sold by T. WOODWARD, at the Half-moon,
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A Map of the Middle Part OF AMERICA

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HISTORY
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THE HISTORY OF THE PYRATES.

VOL. II.

OF
Captain *MISSION*.



We can be somewhat particular in the Life of this Gentleman, because, by very great Accident, we have got into our Hands a *French* Manuscript, in which he himself gives a Detail of his Actions. He was born in *Provence*, of an ancient Family; his Father, whose true Name he conceals, was Master of a plentiful Fortune; but having a great Number of Children, our Rover had but little Hopes of other Fortune than what he could carve out for himself with his Sword. His Parents took Care to give him an Education equal to his Birth. After he had passed his Humanity and Logick, and was a tolerable

Mathematician, at the Age of Fifteen he was sent to *Angiers*, where he was a Year learning his Exercises. His Father, at his Return home, would have put him into the Musketeers; but as he was of a roving Temper, and much affected with the Accounts he had read in Books of Travels, he chose the Sea as a Life which abounds with more Variety, and would afford him an Opportunity to gratify his Curiosity, by the Change of Countries. Having made this Choice, his Father, with Letters of Recommendation, and every Thing fitting for him, sent him Volontier on board the *Victoire*, commanded by Monsieur *Fourbin*, his Relation. He was received on Board with all possible Regard by the Captain, whose Ship was at *Marseilles*, and was order'd to cruize soon after *Misson's* Arrival. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Inclinations of our Volontier than this Cruize, which made him acquainted with the most noted Ports of the *Mediterranean*, and gave him a great Insight into the practical Part of Navigation. He grew fond of this Life, and was resolved to be a compleat Sailor, which made him always one of the first on a Yard Arm, either to Hand or Reef, and very inquisitive in the different Methods of working a Ship: His Discourse was turn'd on no other Subject, and he would often get the Boatswain and Carpenter to teach him in their Cabbins the constituent Parts of a Ship's Hull, and how to rigg her, which he generously paid 'em for; and tho' he spent a great Part of his Time with these two Officers, yet he behaved himself with such Prudence that they never attempted at a Familiarity, and always paid the Respect due to his Family. The Ship being at *Naples*, he obtained Leave of his Captain to go to *Rome*, which he had a great Desire to visit. Hence we may date his Misfortunes; for, remarking the licentious Lives of the Clergy (so different from the Regularity observ'd among the *French Ecclesiasticks*;) the Luxury of the Papal Court, and that nothing but Hulls of Religion was to be found in the Metropolis of the Christian Church, he began to figure to himself that all Religion was no more than a Curb upon the Minds of the Weaker, which the wiser Sort yielded to, in Appearance only. These Sentiments, so disadvantageous to Religion and himself, were strongly riveted by accidentally becoming acquainted with a lewd Priest, who was, at his Arrival (by meer Chance) his Confessor, and after that his Procurer and Companion, for he kept him Company to his Death. One Day, having an Opportunity, he told *Misson*, a Religious was a very good Life, where a Man had a subtle enterprising Genius, and some Friends; for such a one wou'd, in a short Time, rise to such Dignities in the Church, the Hopes of which was the Motive of all the wiser Sort, who voluntarily took upon them the sacerdotal Habit. That the ecclesiastical State was govern'd with the same Policy as were secular Principalities and Kingdoms; that what was beneficial, not what was meritorious and virtuous, would be alone

regarded. That there were no more Hopes for a Man of Piety and Learning in the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, than in any other Monarchy, nay, rather less; for this being known to be real, that Man's rejected as a Visionary, no way fit for Employment; as one whose Scruples might prove prejudicial; for its a Maxim, that Religion and Politicks can never set up in one House. As to our Statesmen, don't imagine that the Purple makes 'em less Courtiers than are those of other Nations; they know and pursue the *Reggione del Stato* (a Term of Art which means Self-Interest) with as much Cunning and as little Conscience as any Secular; and are as artful where Art is required, and as barefaced and impudent when their Power is great enough to support 'em, in the oppressing the People, and aggrandizing their Families. What their Morals are, you may read in the Practice of their Lives, and their Sentiments of Religion from this Saying of a certain Cardinal, *Quantum Lucrum ex ista fabula Christi!* which many of 'em may say, tho' they are not so foolish. For my Part, I am quite tir'd of the Farce, and will lay hold on the first Opportunity to throw off this masquerading Habit; for, by Reason of my Age, I must act an under Part many Years; and before I can rise to share the Spoils of the People, I shall, I fear, be too old to enjoy the Sweets of Luxury; and, as I am an Enemy to Restraint, I am apprehensive I shall never act up to my Character, and carry thro' the Hypocrite with Art enough to rise to any considerable Post in the Church. My Parents did not consult my Genius, or they would have given me a Sword instead of a Pair of Beads.

Misson advised him to go with him Voluntier, and offer'd him Money to cloath him; the Priest leap'd at the Proposal, and a Letter coming to *Misson* from his Captain, that he was going to *Leghorn*, and left to him either to come to *Naples*, or go by Land; he chose the latter, and the *Dominican*, whom he furnish'd with Money, clothing himself very Cavalierly, threw off his Habit, and preceeded him two Days, staying at *Pisa* for *Misson*; from whence they went together to *Leghorn*, where they found the *Victoire*, and Signor *Caraccioli*, recommended by his Friend, was received on Board. Two Days after they weigh'd from hence, and after a Week's Cruize fell in with two *Sally* Men, the one of twenty, the other of twenty four Guns; the *Victoire* had but thirty mounted, though she had Ports for forty. The Engagement was long and bloody, for the *Sally* Man hop'd to carry the *Victoire*; and, on the contrary, Captain *Fourbin*, so far from having any Thoughts of being taken, he was resolutely bent to make Prize of his Enemies, or sink his Ship. One of the *Sally* Men was commanded by a *Spanish* Renegade, (though he had only the Title of a Lieutenant) for the Captain was a young Man who knew little of Marine Affairs.

This Ship was called the *Lyon*; and he attempted, more than once, to board the *Victoire*; but by a Shot betwixt Wind and Water, he was obliged to sheer off, and

running his Guns, &c. on one Side, bring her on the careen to stop his Leak; this being done with too much Precipitation, she overset, and every Soul was lost: His Comrade seeing this Disaster, threw out all his small Sails, and endeavour'd to get off, but the *Victoire* wrong'd her, and oblig'd her to renew the Fight, which she did with great Obstinacy, and made Monsieur *Fourbin* despair of carrying her if he did not board; he made Preparations accordingly. Signior *Caraccioli* and *Misson* were the two first on board when the Command was given; but they and their Followers were beat back by the Despair of the *Sally* Men; the former received a Shot in his Thigh, and was carried down to the Surgeon. The *Victoire* laid her on board the second time, and the *Sally* Men defended their Decks with such Resolution, that they were cover'd with their own, and the dead Bodies of their Enemies. *Misson* seeing one of 'em jump down the Main-Hatch with a lighted Match, suspecting his Design, resolutely leap'd after him, and reaching him with his Sabre, laid him dead the Moment he was going to set Fire to the Powder. The *Victoire* pouring in more Men, the *Mahometans* quitted the Decks, finding Resistance vain, and fled for Shelter to the Cook Room, Steerage and Cabbins, and some run between Decks. The *French* gave 'em Quarters, and put the Prisoners on board the *Victoire*, the Prize yielding nothing worth mention, except Liberty to about fifteen Christian Slaves; she was carried into and sold with the Prisoners at *Leghorn*. The *Turks* lost a great many Men, the *French* not less than 35 in boarding, for they lost very few by the great Shot, the *Sally* Men firing mostly at the Masts and Rigging, hoping by disabling to carry her. The limited Time of their Cruize being out, the *Victoire* returned to *Marseilles*, from whence *Misson*, taking his Companion, went to visit his Parents, to whom the Captain sent a very advantageous Character, both of his Courage and Conduct. He was about a Month at home when his Captain wrote to him, that his Ship was order'd to *Rochelle*, from whence he was to sail for the *West-Indies* with some Merchant Men. This was very agreeable to *Misson* and Signior *Caraccioli*, who immediately set out for *Marseilles*. This Town is well fortified, has four Parish Churches, and the Number of Inhabitants is computed to be about 120,000; the Harbour is esteemed the safest in the *Mediterranean*, and is the common Station for the *French* Gallies.

Leaving this Place, they steer'd for *Rochelle*, where the *Victoire* was dock'd, the Merchant Ships not being near ready. *Misson*, who did not care to pass so long a Time in Idleness, proposed to his Comrade the taking a Cruize on board the *Triumph*, who was going into the *English* Channel; the *Italian* readily consented to it.

Between the Isle of *Guernsey* and the *Start Point*, they met with the

Mayflower, Captain *Balladine* Commanded, a Merchant Ship of 18 Guns, richly laden, and coming from *Jamaica*. The Captain of the *English* made a gallant Resistance, and fought his Ship so long, that the *French* could not carry her into Harbour, wherefore they took the Money, and what was most valuable, out of her; and finding she made more Water than the Pumps could free, quitted, and saw her go down in less than four Hours after. Monsieur *le Blanc*, the *French* Captain, received Captain *Balladine* very civilly, and would not suffer either him or his Men to be stripp'd, saying, *None but Cowards ought to be treated after that Manner; that brave Men ought to treat such, though their Enemies, as Brothers; and that to use a gallant Man (who does his Duty) ill, speaks a Revenge which cannot proceed but from a Coward Soul.* He order'd that the Prisoners should have their Chests; and when some of his Men seem'd to mutter, he bid 'em remember the Grandeur of the Monarch they serv'd; that they were neither Pyrates nor Privateers; and, as brave Men, they ought to shew their Enemies an Example they would willingly have follow'd, and use their Prisoners as they wish'd to be us'd.

They running up the *English* Channel as high as *Beachy Head*, and, in returning, fell in with three fifty Gun Ships, which gave Chase to the *Triumph*; but as she was an excellent Sailor, she run 'em out of Sight in seven Glasses, and made the best of her Way for the *Lands-End*; they here cruized eight Days, then doubling *Cape Cornwall*, ran up the *Bristol* Channel, near as far as *Nash Point*, and intercepted a small Ship from *Barbadoes*, and stretching away to the Northward, gave Chase to a Ship they saw in the Evening, but lost her in the Night. The *Triumph* stood then towards *Milford*, and spying a Sail, endeavour'd to cut her off the Land, but found it impossible; for she got into the Haven, though they came up with her very fast, and she had surely been taken, had the Chase had been any thing longer.

Captain *Balladine*, who took the Glass, said it was the *Port Royal*, a *Bristol* Ship which left *Jamaica* in Company with him and the *Charles*. They now return'd to their own Coast, and sold their Prize at *Brest*, where, at his Desire, they left Captain *Balladine*, and Monsieur *le Blanc* made him a Present of Purse with 40 *Louis's* for his Support; his Crew were also left here.

At the Entrance into this Harbour the *Triumph* struck upon a Rock, but received no Damage: This Entrance, called *Gonlet*, is very dangerous on Account of the Number of Rocks which lie on each Side under Water, though the Harbour is certainly the best in *France*. The Mouth of the Harbour is defended by a strong Castle; the Town is well fortified, and has a Citadel for its farther Defence, which is of considerable Strength. In 1694 the *English* attempted a Descent, but did not find their Market, for they were beat off with

the Loss of their General, and a great many Men. From hence the *Triumph* return'd to *Rochel*, and in a Month after our Voluntiers, who went on board the *Victoire*, took their Departure for *Martineco* and *Guadalupa*; they met with nothing in their Voyage thither worth noting.

I shall only observe, that Signior *Caraccioli*, who was as ambitious as he was irreligious, had, by this Time, made a perfect Deist of *Misson*, and thereby convinc'd him, that all Religion was no other than human Policy, and shew'd him that the Law of *Moses* was no more than what were necessary, as well for the Preservation as the Governing of the People; for Instance, said he, the *African* Negroes never heard of the Institution of Circumcision, which is said to be the Sign of the Covenant made between God and this People, and yet they circumcise their Children; doubtless for the same Reason the *Jews* and other Nations do, who inhabit the Southern Climes, the Prepuce consolidating the perspired Matter, which is of a fatal Consequence. In short, he ran through all the Ceremonies of the *Jewish*, Christian and *Mahometan* Religion, and convinced him these were, as might be observed by the Absurdity of many, far from being Institutions of Men inspired; and that *Moses*, in his Account of the Creation, was guilty of known Blunders; and the Miracles, both in the New and Old Testament, inconsistent with Reason. That God had given us this Blessing, to make Use of for our present and future Happiness, and whatever was contrary to it, notwithstanding their School Distinctions of *contrary* and *above* Reason, must be false. This Reason teaches us, that there is a first Cause of all Things, an *Ens Entium*, which we call God, and our Reason will also suggest, that he must be eternal, and, as the Author of every Thing perfect, he must be infinitely perfect.

If so, he can be subject to no Passions, and neither loves nor hates; he must be ever the same, and cannot rashly do to Day what he shall repent to Morrow. He must be perfectly happy, consequently nothing can add to an eternal State of Tranquillity, and though it becomes us to adore him, yet can our Adorations neither augment, nor our Sins take from this Happiness.

But his Arguments on this Head are too long, and too dangerous to translate; and as they are work'd up with great Subtlety, they may be pernicious to weak Men, who cannot discover their Fallacy; or, who finding 'em agreeable to their Inclinations, and would be glad to shake off the Yoke of the Christian Religion, which galls and curbs their Passions, would not give themselves the Trouble to examine them to the Bottom, but give into what pleases, glad of finding some Excuse to their Consciences. Though as his Opinion of a future State has nothing in it which impugns the Christian Religion, I shall set it down in few Words.

'That reasoning Faculty, says he, which we perceive within us, we call the

Soul, but what that Soul is, is unknown to us. It may die with the Body, or it may survive. I am of Opinion its immortal; but to say that this Opinion is the Dictate of Reason, or only the Prejudice of Education, would, I own, puzzle me. If it is immortal, it must be an Emanation from the Divine Being, and consequently at its being separated from the Body, will return to its first Principle, if not contaminated. Now, my Reason tells me, if it is estranged from its first Principle, which is the Deity, all the Hells of Man's Invention can never yield Tortures adequate to such a Banishment.'

As he had privately held these Discourses among the Crew, he had gained a Number of Proselytes, who look'd upon him as a new Prophet risen up to reform the Abuses in Religion; and a great Number being *Rochellers*, and, as yet, tainted with *Calvanism*, his Doctrine was the more readily embrac'd. When he had experienced the Effects of his religious Arguments, he fell upon Government, and shew'd, that every Man was born free, and had as much Right to what would support him, as to the Air he respired. A contrary Way of arguing would be accusing the Deity with Cruelty and Injustice, for he brought into the World no Man to pass a Life of Penury, and to miserably want a necessary Support; that the vast Difference between Man and Man, the one wallowing in Luxury, and the other in the most pinching Necessity, was owing only to Avarice and Ambition on the one Hand, and a pusilanimous Subjection on the other; that at first no other than a Natural was known, a paternal Government, every Father was the Head, the Prince and Monarch of his Family, and Obedience to such was both just and easy, for a Father had a compassionate Tenderness for his Children; but Ambition creeping in by Degrees, the stronger Family set upon and enslaved the Weaker; and this additional Strength over-run a third, by every Conquest gathering Force to make others, and this was the first Foundation of Monarchy. Pride encreasing with Power, Man usurped the Prerogative of God, over his Creatures, that of depriving them of Life, which was a Privilege no one had over his own; for as he did not come into the World by his own Election, he ought to stay the determined Time of his Creator: That indeed, Death given in War, was by the Law of Nature allowable, because it is for the Preservation of our own Lives; but no Crime ought to be thus punished, nor indeed any War undertaken, but in Defence of our natural Right, which is such a Share of Earth as is necessary for our Support.

These Topicks he often declaimed on, and very often advised with *Misson* about the setting up for themselves; he was as ambitious as the other, and as resolute. *Caraccioli* and *Misson* were by this expert Mariners, and very capable of managing a Ship: *Caraccioli* had sounded a great many of the Men on this Subject, and found them very inclineable to listen to him. An Accident happen'd

which gave *Caraccioli* a fair Opportunity to put his Designs in Execution, and he laid Hold of it; they went off *Martinico* on a Cruize, and met with the *Winchelsea*, an *English* Man of War of 40 Guns, commanded by Captain *Jones*; they made for each other, and a very smart Engagement followed, the first Broadside killed the Captain, second Captain, and the three Lieutenants, on Board the *Victoire*, and left only the Master, who would have struck, but *Misson* took up the Sword, order'd *Caraccioli* to act as Lieutenant, and encouraging the Men fought the Ship six Glasses, when by some Accident, the *Winchelsea* blew up, and not a Man was saved but Lieutenant *Franklin*, whom the *French* Boats took up, and he died in two Days. None ever knew before this Manuscript fell into my Hands how the *Winchelsea* was lost; for her Head being driven ashore at *Antegoa*, and a great Storm having happen'd a few Days before her Head was found, it was concluded, that she foundered in that Storm. After this Engagement, *Caraccioli* came to *Misson* and saluted him Captain, and desired to know if he would chuse a momentary or a lasting Command, that he must now determine, for at his Return to *Martinico* it would be too late; and he might depend upon the Ship he fought and saved being given to another, and they would think him well rewarded if made a Lieutenant, which Piece of Justice he doubted: That he had his Fortune in his Hands, which he might either keep or let go; if he made Choice of the latter, he must never again expect she would court him to accept her Favours: That he ought to set before his Eyes his Circumstances, as a younger Brother of a good Family, but nothing to support his Character; and the many Years he must serve at the Expence of his Blood before he could make any Figure in the World; and consider the wide Difference between the commanding and being commanded: That he might with the Ship he had under Foot, and the brave Fellows under Command, bid Defiance to the Power of *Europe*, enjoy every Thing he wish'd, reign Sovereign of the Southern Seas, and lawfully make War on all the World, since it wou'd deprive him of that Liberty to which he had a Right by the Laws of Nature: That he might in Time, become as great as *Alexander* was to the *Persians*; and by encreasing his Forces by his Captures, he would every Day strengthen the Justice of his Cause, for who has Power is always in the Right. That *Harry* the Fourth and *Harry* the Seventh, attempted and succeeded in their Enterprizes on the Crown of *England*, yet their Forces did not equal his. *Mahomet* with a few Camel Drivers, founded the *Ottoman* Empire; and *Darius*, with no more than six or seven Companions got Possession of that of *Persia*.

In a Word he said so much that *Misson* resolved to follow his Advice, and calling up all Hands, he told them, 'That a great Number of them had resolved with him upon a Life of Liberty, and had done him the Honour to create him

Chief: That he designed to force no Man, and be guilty of that Injustice he blamed in others; therefore, if any were averse to the following his Fortune, which he promised should be the same to all, he desired they would declare themselves, and he would set them ashore, whence they might return with Conveniency;’ having made an End, they one and all cried, *Vive le Capitain Misson et son Lieutenant le Scavant Caraccioli*, God bless Capt. *Misson* and his learned Lieutenant *Caraccioli*. *Misson* thanked them for the Honour they conferr’d upon him, and promised he would use the Power they gave for the publick Good only, and hoped, as they had the Bravery to assert their Liberty, they would be as unanimous in the preserving it, and stand by him in what should be found expedient for the Good of all; that he was their Friend and Companion, and should never exert his Power, or think himself other than their Comrade, but when the Necessity of Affairs should oblige him.

They shouted a second Time, *vive le Capitain*; he, after this, desired they would chuse their subaltern Officers, and give them Power to consult and conclude upon what might be for the common Interest, and bind themselves down by an Oath to agree to what such Officers and he should determine: This they readily gave into. The School-Master they chose for second Lieutenant, *Jean Besace* they nominated for third, and the Boatswain, and a Quarter-Master, named *Matthieu le Tondu*, with the Gunner, they desired might be their Representatives in Council.

The Choice was approved, and that every Thing might pass methodically, and with general Approbation, they were called into the great Cabbin, and the Question put, what Course they should steer? The Captain proposed the *Spanish Coast* as the most probable to afford them rich Prizes: This was agreed upon by all. The Boatswain then asked what Colours they should fight under, and advised Black as most terrifying; but *Caraccioli* objected, that they were no Pyrates, but Men who were resolved to assert that Liberty which God and Nature gave them, and own no Subjection to any, farther than was for the common Good of all: That indeed, Obedience to Governors was necessary, when they knew and acted up to the Duty of their Function; were vigilant Guardians of the Peoples Rights and Liberties; saw that Justice was equally distributed; were Barriers against the Rich and Powerful, when they attempted to oppress the Weaker; when they suffered none of the one Hand to grow immensely rich, either by his own or his Ancestors Encroachments; nor on the other, any to be wretchedly miserable, either by falling into the Hands of Villains, unmerciful Creditors, or other Misfortunes. While he had Eyes impartial, and allowed nothing but Merit to distinguish between Man and Man; and instead of being a Burthen to the People by his luxurious Life, he was by his Care for, and Protection of them, a real

Father, and in every Thing acted with the equal and impartial Justice of a Parent: But when a Governor, who is the Minister of the People, thinks himself rais'd to this Dignity, that he may spend his Days in Pomp and Luxury, looking upon his Subjects as so many Slaves, created for his Use and Pleasure, and therefore leaves them and their Affairs to the immeasurable Avarice and Tyranny of some one whom he has chosen for his Favourite, when nothing but Oppression, Poverty, and all the Miseries of Life flow from such an Administration; that he lavishes away the Lives and Fortunes of the People, either to gratify his Ambition, or to support the Cause of some neighbouring Prince, that he may in Return, strengthen his Hands should his People exert themselves in Defence of their native Rights; or should he run into unnecessary Wars, by the rash and thoughtless Councils of his Favourite, and not able to make Head against the Enemy he has rashly or wantonly brought upon his Hands, and buy a Peace (which is the present Case of *France*, as every one knows, by supporting King *James*, and afterwards proclaiming his Son) and drain the Subject; should the Peoples Trade be wilfully neglected, for private Interests, and while their Ships of War lie idle in their Harbours, suffer their Vessels to be taken; and the Enemy not only intercepts all Commerce, but insults their Coasts: It speaks a generous and great Soul to shake off the Yoak; and if we cannot redress our Wrongs, withdraw from sharing the Miseries which meaner Spirits submit to, and scorn to yield to the Tyranny. Such Men are we, and, if the World, as Experience may convince us it will, makes War upon us, the Law of Nature empowers us not only to be on the defensive, but also on the offensive Part. As we then do not proceed upon the same Ground with Pyrates, who are Men of dissolute Lives and no Principles, let us scorn to take their Colours: Ours is a brave, a just, an innocent, and a noble Cause; the Cause of Liberty. I therefore advise a white Ensign, with Liberty painted in the Fly, and if you like the Motto, *a Deo a Libertate*, for God and Liberty, as an Emblem of our Uprightness and Resolution.

The Cabbin Door was left open, and the Bulk Head which was of Canvas rowled up, the Steerage being full of Men, who lent an attentive Ear, they cried, *Liberty, Liberty; we are free Men: Vive the brave Captain Misson and the noble Lieutenant Caraccioli*. This short Council breaking up, every Thing belonging to the deceas'd Captain, and the other Officers, and Men lost in the Engagement, was brought upon Deck and over-hawled; the Money ordered to be put into a Chest, and the Carpenter to clap on a Padlock for, and give a Key to, every one of the Council: *Misson* telling them, all should be in common, and the particular Avarice of no one should defraud the Publick.

When the Plate Monsieur *Fourbin* had, was going to the Chest, the Men

unanimously cried out avast, keep that out for the Captain's Use, as a Present from his Officers and Fore-mast Men. *Misson* thanked them, the Plate was returned to the great Cabbin, and the Chest secured according to Orders: *Misson* then ordered his Lieutenants and other Officers to examine who among the Men, were in most Want of Cloaths, and to distribute those of the dead Men impartially, which was done with a general Consent and Applause of the whole Crew: All but the wounded being upon Deck. *Misson* from the Baracade, spoke to the following Purpose, 'That since they had unanimously resolved to seize upon and defend their Liberty, which ambitious Men had usurped, and that this could not be esteemed by impartial Judges other than a just and brave Resolution, he was under an Obligation to recommend to them a brotherly Love to each other; the Banishment of all private Piques and Grudges, and a strict Agreement and Harmony among themselves: That in throwing off the Yoak of Tyranny of which the Action spoke an Abhorrence, he hoped none would follow the Example of Tyrants, and turn his Back upon Justice; for when Equity was trodden under Foot, Misery, Confusion, and mutual Distrust naturally followed.'—He also advised them to remember there was a Supream, the Adoration of which, Reason and Gratitude prompted us, and our own Interests would engage us (as it is best to be of the surest Side, and after-Life was allowed possible) to conciliate.—That he was satisfied Men who were born and bred in Slavery, by which their Spirits were broke, and were incapable of so generous a Way of thinking, who, ignorant of their Birth-Right, and the Sweets of Liberty, dance to the Musick of their Chains, which was, indeed, the greater Part of the Inhabitants of the Globe, would brand this generous Crew with the invidious Name of Pyrates, and think it meritorious, to be instrumental in their Destruction.—Self-Preservation therefore, and not a cruel Disposition, obliged him to declare War against all such as should refuse him the Entry of their Ports, and against all, who should not immediately surrender and give up what their Necessities required; but in a more particular Manner against all *European* Ships and Vessels, as concluded implacable Enemies. *And I do now, said he, declare such War, and, at the same time, recommend to you my Comrades a humane and generous Behaviour towards your Prisoners; which will appear by so much more the Effects of a noble Soul, as we are satisfied we should not meet the same Treatment should our ill Fortune, or more properly our Disunion, or want of Courage, give us up to their Mercy.*

After this, he required a Muster should be made, and there were able Hands two Hundred, and thirty five sick and wounded; as they were muster'd they were sworn. After Affairs were thus settled, they shaped their Course for the *Spanish West-Indies*, but resolved, in the Way, to take a Week or ten Days Cruize in the

Windward Passage from *Jamaica*, because most Merchant Men, which were good Sailors and did not stay for Convoy, took this as the shorter Cut for *England*.

Off St. *Christophers* they took an *English* Sloop becalmed, with their Boats; they took out of her a couple of Puncheons of Rum, and half a dozen Hogsheads of Sugar (she was a *New England* Sloop, bound for *Boston*) and without offering the least Violence to the Men, or stripping them, they let her go. The Master of the Sloop was *Thomas Butler*, who owned, he never met with so candid an Enemy as the *French* Man of War, which took him the Day he left St. *Christophers*; they met with no other Booty in their Way, till they came upon their Station, when after three Days, they saw a Sloop which had the Impudence to give them Chace; Captain *Misson* asked what could be the Meaning that the Sloop stood for them? One of the Men, who was acquainted with the *West-Indies*, told him, it was a *Jamaica* Privateer, and he should not wonder, if he clapp'd him aboard. I am, said he, no Stranger to their Way of working, and this despicable Fellow, as those who don't know a *Jamaica* Privateer may think him, it is ten to one will give you some Trouble. It now grows towards Evening, and you'll find as soon as he has discovered your Force, he'll keep out of the Reach of your Guns till the 12 a-Clock Watch is changed at Night, and he'll then attempt to clap you aboard, with Hopes to carry you in the Hurry: Wherefore Captain, if you will give me Leave to advise you, let every Man have his small Arms; and at twelve, let the Bell ring as usual, and rather more Noise than ordinary be made, as if the one Watch was turning in, and the other out, in a Confusion and Hurry, and I'll engage he will venture to enter his Men. The Fellow's Advice was approved and resolved upon, and the Sloop work'd, as he said she would, for upon coming near enough to make distinctly the Force of the *Victoire*, on her throwing out *French* Colours, she, the Sloop, clapp'd upon a Wind, the *Victoire* gave Chace, but without Hopes of gaining upon her; she went so well to Windward, that she cou'd spare the Ship some Points in her Sheet, and yet wrong her: At Dusk of the Even, the *French* had lost Sight of her, but about Eleven at Night, they saw her hankering up their Windward Bow, which confirmed the Sailors Opinion, that she would attempt to board them, as she did at the pretended Change of the Watch; there being little or no Wind, she lashed to the Bow-Sprit of the *Victoire*, and enter'd her Men, who were very quietly taken, as they enter'd and tumbled down the Fore-hatch, where they were received by others, and bound without Noise, not one of the Privateers killed, few hurt, and only one *Frenchman* wounded. The *Victoire* seeing the better Part of the Sloop's Men secured, they boarded in their Turn, when the Privateer's suspecting some Stratagem, were endeavouring to cut their Lashing and get off:

Thus the *Englishman* caught a Tartar. The Prisoners being all secured, the Captain charged his Men not to discover, thro' a Desire of augmenting their Number, the Account they were upon.

The next Morning Monsieur *Misson* called for the Captain of the Privateer, he told him, he could not but allow him a brave Fellow, to venture upon a Ship of his Countenance, and for that Reason he should meet Treatment which Men of his Profession seldom afforded the Prisoners they made. He asked him how long he had been out, what was his Name, and what he had on Board? He answered he was but just come out, that he was the first Sail he had met with, and shou'd have thought himself altogether as lucky not to have spoke with him; that his Name was *Harry Ramsey*, and what he had on Board were Rags, Powder, Ball, and some few half Anchors of Rum. *Ramsey* was ordered into the Gun-Room, and a Council being held in the publick Manner aforesaid, the Bulk Head of the great Cabbin rowled up. On their Conclusion, the Captain of the Privateer was called in again, when Captain *Misson* told him, he would return him his Sloop, and restore him and his Men to their Liberty, without stripping or plundering of any Thing, but what Prudence obliged him to, their Ammunition and Small-Arms, if he would give him his Word and Honour, and his Men to take an Oath, not to go out on the Privateer Account in six Months after they left him: That he did not design to continue that Station above a Week longer, at the Expiration of which Time he would let them go.

Ramsey, who had a new Sloop, did not expect this Favour, which he thanked him for, and promised punctually to comply with the Injunction, which his Men as readily swore to, tho' they had no Design to keep the Oath. The Time being expired, he and his Men were put on Board their own Sloop. At going over the Ship's Side *Ramsey* begg'd Monsieur *Misson* would allow him Powder for a salute, by way of Thanks; but he answered him, the Ceremony was needless, and he expected no other Return than that of keeping his Word, which indeed *Ramsey* did. Some of his Men had found it more to their Advantage to have been as religious.

At parting *Ramsey* gave the Ship three Cheers, and *Misson* had the Complaisance to return one, which *Ramsey* answering with three more, made the best of his Way for *Jamaica*, and at the East End of the Island met with the *Diana*, who, upon Advice, turn'd back.

The *Victoire* steer'd for *Carthagene*, off which Port they cruised some Days, but meeting with nothing in the Seas, they made for *Porto Bello*; in their Way they met with two *Dutch* Traders, who had Letters of Mart, and were just come upon the Coast, the one had 20, the other 24 Guns; *Misson* engaged them, and they defended themselves with a great Deal of Resolution and Gallantry; and as

they were mann'd a Peak, he durst not venture to board either of them, for fear of being at the same Time boarded by the other. His Weight of Mettal gave him a great Advantage over the *Dutch*, though they were two to one; besides, their Business, as they had Cargoes, was to get off, if possible, wherefore they made a running Fight, though they took Care to stick close to one another.

They maintained the Fight for above six Hours, when *Misson*, enraged at this Obstinacy, and fearing, if by Accident they should bring a Mast, or Top-Mast, by the board, they would get from him. He was resolved to sink the larger Ship of the two, and accordingly ordered his Men to bring all their Guns to bear a Midship, then running close along Side of him, to raise their Mettal; his Orders being punctually obey'd, he pour'd in a Broad Side, which open'd such a Gap in the *Dutch* Ship, that she went directly to the Bottom, and every Man perish'd.

He then mann'd his Bowsprit, brought his Sprit-sail Yard fore and aft, and resolved to board the other, which the *Dutch* perceiving, and terrified with the unhappy Fate of their Comrade, thought a farther resistance vain, and immediately struck. *Misson* gave them good Quarters, though he was enraged at the Loss of 13 Men killed outright, beside 9 wounded, of which 6 died. They found on board a great Quantity of Gold and Silver Lace, brocade Silks, Silk Stockings, Bails of Broad-Cloath, Bazes of all Colours, and *Osnabrughs*.

A Consultation being held, it was resolved Captain *Misson* should take the Name of *Fourbin*, and returning to *Carthagene*, dispose of his Prize, and set his Prisoners ashoar. Accordingly they ply'd to the Eastward, and came to an Anchor between *Boca Chieca* Fort, and the Town, for they did not think it expedient to enter the Harbour. The Barge was manned, and *Caraccioli*, with the Name of *D'Aubigny*, the first Lieutenant, who was killed in the Engagement with the *Winchelsea*, and his Commission in his Pocket, went ashore with a Letter to the Governor, sign'd *Fourbin*, whose Character, for fear of the worst, was exactly counterfeited. The Purport of his Letter was, that having discretionary Orders to cruize for three Months, and hearing the *English* infested his Coast, he was come in search of 'em, and had met two *Dutch* Men, one of which he had sunk, the other he made Prize of. That his limited Time being near expired, he should be obliged to his Excellency, if he would send on board him such Merchants as were willing to take the Ship and Cargoe off his Hands, of which he had sent the *Dutch* Invoice. Don *Joseph de la Zerda*, the then Governor, received the Lieutenant (who sent back the Barge at landing) very civilly, and agreed to take the Prisoners ashoar, and do every Thing was required of him; and ordering fresh Provisions and Sallading to be got ready as a Present for the Captain, he sent for some Merchants who were very ready to go on board, and agree for the Ship and Goods; which they did, for two and fifty

thousand Pieces of Eight. The next Day the Prisoners were set ashore; a rich Piece of Brocade which was reserv'd, sent to the Governor for a Present, a Quantity of fresh Provision bought and brought on board, the Money paid by the Merchants, the Ship and Goods deliver'd, and the *Victoire*, at the Dawn of the following Day, got under Sail. It may be wonder'd how such Dispatch could be made, but the Reader must take Notice, these Goods were sold by the *Dutch* Invoice, which the Merchant of the Prize affirmed was genuine. I shall observe, by the by, that the *Victoire* was the *French* Man of War which Admiral *Wager* sent the *Kingston* in search of, and being afterwards falsly inform'd, that she was join'd by another of seventy Guns; and that they cruiz'd together between the Capes, order'd the *Severn* up to Windward, to assist the *Kingston*, which had like to have prov'd very fatal; for these two *English* Men of War, commanded by Captain *Trevor* and Captain *Pudnor*, meeting in the Night, had prepared to engage, each taking the other for the Enemy. The *Kingston's* Men not having a good Look-out, which must be attributed to the Negligence of the Officer of the Watch, did not see the *Severn* till she was just upon them; but, by good Luck, to Leeward, and plying up, with all the Sail she could crowd, and a clear Ship. This put the *Kingston* in such Confusion, that when the *Severn* hal'd, no Answer was return'd, for none heard her. She was got under the *Kingston's* Stern, and Captain *Pudnor* ordered to hale for the third and last Time, and if no Answer was return'd, to give her a Broadside. The Noise on Board the *Kingston* was now a little ceas'd, and Captain *Trevor*, who was on the Poop with a speaking Trumpet to hale the *Severn*, by good Luck heard her hale him, and answering the *Kingston*, and asking the Name of the other Ship, prevented the Damage.

They cruised together some Time, and meeting nothing which answer'd their Information, return'd to *Jamaica*, as I shall to my Subject, begging Pardon for this, as I thought, necessary Digression.

Don *Juan de la Zerda* told the Captain in a Letter, that the *St. Joseph*, a Gallion of seventy Guns, was then lying at *Port a Bello*, and should be glad he could keep her Company till she was off the Coast. That she would sail in eight or ten Days for the *Havanna*; and that, if his Time would permit him, he would send an Advice-Boat. That she had on Board the Value of 800,000 Pieces of Eight in Silver and Bar Gold. *Misson* return'd Answer, that he believ'd he should be excus'd if he stretched his Orders, for a few Days; and that he would cruize off the Isle of *Pearls*, and Cape *Gratias a Dios*, and give for Signal to the Gallion, his spreading a white Ensign in his Fore-Top-Mast Shrouds, the cluing up his Fore-Sail, and the firing one Gun to Windward, and two to Leeward, which he should answer by letting run and hoisting his Fore-Top-Sail three times, and the firing as many Guns to Leeward. Don *Joseph*, extreemly pleased

with this Complaisance, sent a Boat express to advise the *St. Joseph*, but she was already sailed two Days, contrary to the Governor of *Carthagene*'s Expectation, and this Advice Captain *Misson* had from the Boat, which returning with an Answer, saw the *Victoire* in the Offin, and spoke to her. It was then resolved to follow the *St. Joseph*, and accordingly they steer'd for the *Havanna*, but by what Accident they did not overtake her is unknown.

I forgot to tell my Reader, on Board the *Dutch Ship* were fourteen *French Hugonots*, whom *Misson* thought fit to detain, when they were at Sea. *Misson* called 'em up, and proposed to 'em their taking on; telling them at the same Time, he left it to their Choice, for he would have no forc'd Men; and that if they all, or any of them, disapproved the Proposal, he would either give 'em the first Vessel he met that was fit for 'em, or set 'em ashoar on some inhabited Coast; and therefore bid 'em take two Days for Consideration before they returned an Answer; and, to encourage 'em, he called all Hands up, and declar'd, that if any Man repented him of the Course of Life he had chosen, his just Dividend should be counted to him, and he would set him on Shoar, either near the *Havanna*, or some other convenient Place; but not one accepted the Offer, and the fourteen Prisoners unanimously resolved to join in with 'em; to which Resolution, no doubt, the Hopes of a good Booty from the *St. Joseph*, and this Offer of Liberty greatly contributed.

At the Entrance of the Gulph they spied and came with a large Merchant Ship bound for *London* from *Jamaica*; she had 20 Guns, but no more than 32 Hands, that its not to be wonder'd at she made no Resistance, besides, she was deep laden with Sugars. Monsieur *Misson* took out of her what Ammunition she had, about four thousand Pieces of Eight, some Puncheons of Rum, and ten Hogsheads of Sugar; and, without doing her any further Damage, let her proceed her Voyage. What he valued most in this Prize was the Men he got, for she was carrying to *Europe* twelve *French Prisoners*, two of which were necessary Hands, being a Carpenter and his Mate. They were of *Bourdeaux*, from whence they came with the *Pomechatraine*, which was taken by the *Maremaid* off *Petit Guavers*, after an obstinate Resistance, in which they lost forty Men; but they were of Opinion the *Maremaid* could not have taken 'em, having but four Guns less than she had, which was made amends for, by their having about thirty Hands. On the contrary, had not the *Guernsey* come up, they thought of boarding and carrying the *Maremaid*. These Men very willingly came into Captain *Misson*'s Measures.

These Men, who had been stripp'd to the Skin, begg'd Leave to make Reprisals, but the Captain would not suffer them, though he told the Master of the Prize, as he protected him and his Men, he thought it reasonable these

French should be cloathed: Upon this the Master contributed of his own, and every Man bringing up his Chest, thought themselves very well off in sharing with them one half.

Though *Misson's* Ship pass'd for a *French* Man of War, yet his Generosity in letting the Prize go, gave the *English* Grounds to suspect the Truth, neither the Ship nor Cargoe being of Use to such as were upon the grand Account.

When they had lost all Hopes of the *St. Joseph*, they coasted along the North-Side of *Cuba*, and the *Victoire* growing now foul, they ran into a Landlock'd Bay on the East North-East Point, where they hove her down by Boats and Guns, though they could not pretend to heave her Keel out; however, they scraped and tallowed as far as they could go; they, for this Reason, many of them repented they had let the last Prize go, by which they might have careened.

When they had righted the Ship, and put every Thing on Board, they consulted upon the Course they should steer. Upon this the Council divided. The Captain and *Caraccioli* were for stretching over to the *African*, and the others for the *New-England* Coast, alledging, that the Ship had a foul Bottom, and was not fit for the Voyage; and that if they met with contrary Winds, and bad Weather, their Stock of Provision might fall short; and that as they were not far from the *English* Settlement of *Carolina*, they might either on that or the Coast of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Pensylvania*, *New-York*, or *New-England*, intercept Ships which traded to the Islands with Provisions, and by that Means provide themselves with Bread, Flower, and other Necessaries. An Account of the Provisions were taken, and finding they had Provisions for four Months. Captain *Misson* called all Hands upon Deck, and told them, as the Council differed in the Course they should steer, he thought it reasonable to have it put to the Vote of the whole Company. That for his Part, he was for going to the Coasts of *Guiney*, where they might reasonably expect to meet with valuable Prizes; but should they fail in their Expectation one Way, they would be sure of having it answered another; for they could then throw themselves in that of the *East-India* Ships, and he need not tell them, that the outward bound drained *Europe* of what Money they drew from *America*. He then gave the Sentiments of those who were against him, and their Reasons, and begg'd that every one would give his Opinion and Vote according as he thought most conducive to the Good of all. That he should be far from taking it ill if they should reject what he had proposed, since he had no private Views to serve. The Majority of Votes fell on the Captain's Side, and they accordingly shaped their Course for the Coast of *Guiney*, in which Voyage nothing remarkable happened. On their Arrival on the Gold-Coast, they fell in with the *Nieuwstadt* of *Amsterdam*, a Ship of 18 Guns, commanded by Capt. *Blaes*, who made a running Fight of five Glasses: This

Ship they kept with them, putting on Board 40 Hands, and bringing all the Prisoners on Board the *Victoire*, they were Forty three in Number; they left *Amsterdam* with Fifty six, seven were killed in the Engagement, and they had lost six by Sickness and Accidents, one falling overboard, and one being taken by a Shark going overboard in a Calm.

The *Nieuwstadt* had some Gold-Dust on Board, to the Value of about 2000 l. Sterling, and a few Slaves to the Number of Seventeen, for she had but begun to Trade; the Slaves were a strengthening of their Hands, for the Captain order'd them to be cloathed out of *Dutch* Mariners Chests, and told his Men, 'That the Trading for those of our own Species, cou'd never be agreeable to the Eyes of divine Justice: That no Man had Power of the Liberty of another; and while those who profess'd a more enlightened Knowledge of the Deity, sold Men like Beasts; they prov'd that their Religion was no more than Grimace, and that they differ'd from the *Barbarians* in Name only, since their Practice was in nothing more humane: For his Part, and he hop'd, he spoke the Sentiments of all his brave Companions, he had not exempted his Neck from the galling Yoak of Slavery, and asserted his own Liberty, to enslave others. That however, these Men were distinguish'd from the *Europeans* by their Colour, Customs, or religious Rites, they were the Work of the same omnipotent Being, and endued with equal Reason: Wherefore, he desired they might be treated like Freeman (for he wou'd banish even the Name of Slavery from among them) and divided into Messes among them, to the End they might the sooner learn their Language, be sensible of the Obligation they had to them, and more capable and zealous to defend that Liberty they owed to their Justice and Humanity.'

This Speech of *Misson's* was received with general Applause, and the Ship rang with *vive le Capitain Misson*. Long live Capt. *Misson*.—The Negroes were divided among the *French*, one to a Mess, who, by their Gesticulations, shew'd they were gratefully sensible of their being delivered from their Chains. Their Ship growing very foul, and going heavily through the Water, they run into the River of *Lagoa*, where they hove her down, taking out such Planks as had suffer'd most by the Worms, and substituting new in their Room.

After this they careened the Prize, and so put out to Sea, steering to the Southward, and keeping along the Coast, but met with Nothing. All this while, the greatest Decorum and Regularity was observed on Board the *Victoire*; but the *Dutch* Prisoners Example began to lead 'em into Swearing and Drunkenness, which the Captain remarking, thought it was best to nip these Vices in the Bud; and calling both the *French* and *Dutch* upon Deck, he address'd himself to the former, desiring their Captain, who spoke *French* excellently well, to interpret what he said to those who did not understand him. He told them, 'before he had

the Misfortune of having them on Board, his Ears were never grated with hearing the Name of the great Creator prophaned, tho' he, to his Sorrow, had often since heard his own Men guilty of that Sin, which administer'd neither Profit nor Pleasure, and might draw upon them a severe Punishment: That if they had a just Idea of that great Being, they wou'd never mention him, but they wou'd immediately reflect on his Purity and their own Vileness. That we so easily took Impression from our Company, that the *Spanish* Proverb says, *let a Hermit and a Thief live together, the Thief wou'd become Hermit, or the Hermit Thief*: That he saw this verified in his Ship, for he cou'd attribute the Oaths and Curses he had heard among his brave Companions, to nothing but the odious Example of the *Dutch*: That this was not the only Vice they had introduced, for before they were on Board, his Men were Men, but he found by their beastly Pattern they were degenerated into Brutes, by drowning that only Faculty, which distinguishes between Man and Beast, *Reason*. That as he had the Honour to command them, he could not see them run into these odious Vices without a sincere Concern, as he had a paternal Affection for them; and he should reproach himself as neglectful of the common Good, if he did not admonish them; and as by the Post which they had honour'd him, he was obliged to have a watchful Eye over their general Interest; he was obliged to tell them his Sentiments were, that the *Dutch* allured them to a dissolute Way of Life, that they might take some Advantage over them: Wherefore, as his brave Companions, he was assured, wou'd be guided by Reason, he gave the *Dutch* Notice, that the first whom he catch'd either with an Oath in his Mouth or Liquor in his Head, should be brought to the Geers, whipped and pickled, for an Example to the rest of his Nation: As to his Friends, his Companions, his Children, those gallant, those generous, noble, and heroick Souls he had the Honour to command, he entreated them to allow a small Time for Reflection, and to consider how little Pleasure, and how much Danger, might flow from imitating the Vices of their Enemies; and that they would among themselves, make a Law for the Suppression of what would otherwise estrange them from the Source of Life, and consequently leave them destitute of his Protection.'

It is not to be imagined what Efficacy this Speech had on both Nations: The *Dutch* grew continent in Fear of Punishment, and the *French* in Fear of being reproach'd by their good Captain, for they never mentioned him without this Epithet. Upon the Coast of *Angola*, they met with a second *Dutch* Ship, the Cargo of which consisted of Silk and Woolen Stuffs, Cloath, Lace, Wine, Brandy, Oyl, Spice, and hard Ware; the Prize gave Chase and engaged her, but upon the coming up of the *Victoire* she struck. This Ship opportunely came in their Way, and gave full Employ to the Taylors, who were on Board, for the

whole Crew began to be out at Elbows: They plundered her of what was of Use to their own Ship, and then sunk her.

The Captain having about ninety Prisoners on Board, proposed the giving them the Prize, with what was necessary for their Voyage, and sending them away; which being agreed to, they shifted her Ammunition on Board the *Victoire*, and giving them Provision to carry them to the Settlements the *Dutch* have on the Coast, *Misson* called them up, told them what was his Design, and ask'd if any of them was willing to share his Fortune: Eleven *Dutch* came into him, two of which were Sail-makers, one an Armourer, and one a Carpenter, necessary Hands; the rest he let go, not a little surprised at the Regularity, Tranquillity, and Humanity, which they found among these new-fashioned Pyrates.

They had now run the Length of *Soldinia* Bay, about ten Leagues to the Northward of *Table* Bay. As here is good Water, safe Riding, plenty of Fish and fresh Provision, to be got of the Natives for the Merchandize they had on Board, it was resolved to stay here some little Time for Refreshments. When they had the Bay open, they spied a tall Ship, which instantly got under sail, and hove out *English* Colours. The *Victoire* made a clear Ship, and hove out her *French* Ensign, and a smart Engagement began. The *English* was a new Ship built for 40 Guns, though she had but 32 mounted, and 90 Hands. *Misson* gave Orders for boarding, and his Number of fresh Men he constantly poured in, after an obstinate Dispute obliged the *English* to fly the Decks, and leave the *French* Masters of their Ship, who promised, and gave them, good Quarters, and stripp'd not a Man.

They found on Board the Prize some Bales of *English* Broad-Cloath, and about 60000 l. in *English* Crown Pieces, and *Spanish* Pieces of Eight. The *English* Captain was killed in the Engagement, and 14 of his Men: The *French* lost 12, which was no small Mortification, but did not however provoke them to use their Prisoners harshly. Captain *Misson* was sorry for the Death of the Commander, whom he buried on the Shoar, and one of his Men being a Stone-Cutter, he raised a Stone over his Grave with these Words, *Icy gist un brave Anglois*. Here lies a gallant *English* Man; when he was buried he made a tripple Discharge of 50 small Arms, and fired Minute Guns.

The *English*, knowing whose Hands they were fallen into, charm'd with *Misson's* Humanity, 30 of them, in 3 Days Space, desired to take on with him. He accepted 'em, but at the same Time gave 'em to understand, that in taking on with him they were not to expect they should be indulged in a dissolute and immoral Life. He now divided his Company between the two Ships, and made *Caraccioli* Captain of the Prize, giving him Officers chosen by the publick

Suffrage. The 17 Negroes began to understand a little *French*, and to be useful Hands, and in less than a Month all the *English* Prisoners came over to him, except their Officers.

He had two Ships well mann'd with resolute Fellows; they now doubled the Cape, and made the South End of *Madagascar*, and one of the *English* Men telling Captain *Misson*, that the *European* Ships bound for *Surat* commonly touch'd at the Island of *Johanna*, he sent for Captain *Caraccioli* on Board, and it was agreed to cruize off that Island. They accordingly sailed on the West-Side of *Madagascar* and off the Bay *de Diego*. About half Seas over between that Bay and the Island of *Johanna*, they came up with an *English East-India* Man, which made Signals of Distress as soon as she spy'd *Misson* and his Prize; they found her sinking by an unexpected Leak, and took all her Men on Board, though they could get little out of her before she went down. The *English*, who were thus miraculously saved from perishing, desired to be set on Shoar at *Johanna*, where they hop'd to meet with either a *Dutch* or *English* Ship in a little Time, and the mean while they were sure of Relief.

They arrived at *Johanna*, and were kindly received by the Queen-Regent and her Brother, on account of the *English* on the one Hand, and of their Strength on the other, which the Queen's Brother, who had the Administration of Affairs, was not able to make Head against, and hoped they might assist him against the King of *Mohila*, who threaten'd him with a Visit.

This is an Island which is contiguous, in a manner, to *Johanna*, and lies about N. W. and by N. from it. *Caraccioli* told *Misson* he might make his Advantage in widening the Breach between these two little Monarchies, and, by offering his Assistance to that of *Johanna*, in a manner rule both, for these would court him as their Protector, and those come to any Terms to buy his Friendship, by which Means he would hold the Ballance of Power between them. He followed this Advice, and offered his Friendship and Assistance to the Queen, who very readily embraced it.

I must advise the Reader, that many of this Island speak *English*, and that the *English* Men who were of *Misson*'s Crew, and his Interpreters, told them, their Captain, though not an *Englishman*, was their Friend and Ally, and a Friend and Brother to the *Johanna* Men, for they esteem the *English* beyond all other Nations.

They were supplied by the Queen with all Necessaries of Life, and *Misson* married her Sister, as *Caraccioli* did the Daughter of her Brother, whose Armory, which consisted before of no more than two rusty Fire-Locks, and three Pistols, he furnish'd with thirty Fuzils, as many Pair of Pistols, and gave him two Barrels of Powder, and four of Ball.

Several of his Men took Wives, and some required their Share of the Prizes, which was justly given them, they designing to settle in this Island, but the Number of these did not exceed ten, which Loss was repaired by thirty of the Crew (they had saved from perishing) coming in to him.

While they past their Time in all manner of Diversions the Place would afford them, as hunting, feasting, and visiting the Island, the King of *Mohila* made a Descent, and alarm'd the whole Country. *Misson* advised the Queen's Brother not to give him any Impediment, but let him get into the Heart of the Island, and he would take Care to intercept their Return; but the Prince answered, should he follow his Advice the Enemy would do him and the Subjects an irreparable Damage, in destroying the Cocoa Walks, and for that Reason he must endeavour to stop his Progress. Upon this Answer he asked the *English* who were not under his Command, if they were willing to join him in repelling the Enemies of their common Host, and one and all consenting, he gave them Arms, and mixed them with his own Men, and about the same Number of *Johannians*, under the Command of *Caraccioli* and the Queen's Brother, and arming out all his Boats, he went himself to the Westward of the Island, where they made their Descent. The Party which went by Land, fell in with, and beat the *Mohilians* with great Ease, who were in the greatest Consternation, to find their Retreat cut off by *Misson's* Boats. The *Johannians*, whom they had often molested, were so enraged, that they gave Quarter to none, and out of 300 who made the Descent, if *Misson* and *Caraccioli* had not interposed, not a Soul had escaped; 113 were taken Prisoners by his Men, and carried on Board his Ships. These he sent safe to *Mohila*, with a Message to the King, to desire he would make Peace with his Friend and Ally the King of *Johanna*; but that Prince, little affected with the Service done him in the Preservation of his Subjects, sent him Word he took Laws from none, and knew when to make War and Peace without his Advice, which he neither asked nor wanted. *Misson*, irritated by this rude Answer, resolved to transfer the War into his own Country, and accordingly set sail for *Mohila*, with about 100 *Johanna* Men. The Shoar, on Sight of the Ships, was filled with Men to hinder a Descent if intended, but the great Guns soon dispersed this Rabble, and under their Cover he landed the *Johannians*, and an equal Number of *French* and *English*. They were met by about 700 *Mohilians*, who pretended to stop their Passage, but their Darts and Arrows were of little avail against *Misson's* Fuzils; the first Discharge made a great Slaughter, and about 20 Shells which were thrown among them, put them to a confus'd Flight. The Party of *Europeans* and *Johannians* then marched to their Metropolis, without Resistance, which they reduced to Ashes, and the *Johannians* cut down all the Cocoa Walks that they could for the Time, for towards Evening they

returned to their Ships, and stood off to Sea.

At their Return to *Johanna* the Queen made a Festival, and magnified the Bravery and Service of her Guests, Friends, and Allies. This Feast lasted four Days, at the Expiration of which Time the Queen's Brother proposed to Captain *Misson* the making another Descent, in which he would go in Person, and did not doubt subjecting the *Mohilians*; but this was not the Design of *Misson*, who had Thoughts of fixing a Retreat on the North West Side of *Madagascar*, and look'd upon the Feuds between these two Islands advantageous to his Views, and therefore no way his Interest to suffer the one to overcome the other; for while the Variance was kept up, and their Forces pretty much upon a Level, it was evident their Interest would make both Sides caress him; he therefore answer'd, that they ought to deliberate on the Consequences, for they might be deceived in their Hopes, and find the Conquest less easy than they imagined. That the King of *Mohila* would be more upon his Guard, and not only intrench himself, but gall them with frequent Ambuscades, by which they must inevitably lose a Number of Men; and, if they were forced to retire with Loss, raise the Courage of the *Mohilians*, and make them irreconcilable Enemies to the *Johannians*, and intirely deprive him of the Advantages with which he might now make a Peace, having twice defeated them: That he could not be always with them, and at his leaving *Johanna* he might expect the King of *Mohila* would endeavour to take a bloody Revenge for the late Damages. The Queen gave intirely into *Misson's* Sentiments.

While this was in Agitation four *Mohilians* arrived as Ambassadors to propose a Peace. They finding the *Johannians* upon high Terms, one of them spoke to this Purpose; *O ye Johannians, do not conclude from your late Success, that Fortune will be always favourable; she will not always give you the Protection of the Europeans, and without their Help its possible you might now sue for a Peace, which you seem averse to. Remember the Sun rises, comes to its Meridian Height, and stays not there, but declines in a Moment. Let this admonish you to reflect on the constant Revolution of all sublunary Affairs, and the greater is your Glory, the nearer you are to your Declension. We are taught by every Thing we see, that there is no Stability in the World, but Nature is in continual Movement. The Sea which o'er flows the Sands has its Bounds set, which it cannot pass, which the Moment it has reached, without abiding, returns back to the Bosom of the Deep. Every Herb, every Shrub and Tree, and even our own Bodies, teach us this Lesson, that nothing is durable, or can be counted upon. Time passes away insensibly, one Sun follows another, and brings its Changes with it. To Day's Globe of Light sees you strengthened by these Europeans elate with Victory, and we, who have been used to conquer you, come to ask a Peace.*

To Morrow's Sun may see you deprived of your present Succours, and the Johannians petitioning us; as therefore we cannot say what to Morrow may bring forth, it would be unwise on uncertain Hopes to forego a certain Advantage, as surely Peace ought to be esteem'd by every wise Man.

Having said this, the Ambassadors withdrew, and were treated by the Queen's Orders. After the Council had concluded, they were again call'd upon, and the Queen told them, that by the Advice of her good Friends, the *Europeans*, and those of her Council, she agreed to make a Peace, which she wish'd might banish all Memory of former Injuries. That they must own the War was begun by them, and that she was far from being the Aggressor; she only defended her self in her own Kingdom, which they had often invaded, though, till within few Days, she had never molested their Coasts. If then they really desired to live amicably with her, they must resolve to send two of the King's Children, and ten of the first Nobility, as Hostages, that they might, when they pleased, return, for that was the only Terms on which she would desist prosecuting the Advantages she now had, with the utmost Vigour.

The Ambassadors return'd with this Answer, and, about ten Days after, the two Ships appearing upon their Coasts, they sent off to give Notice, that their King comply'd with the Terms proposed, would send the Hostages, and desired a Cessation of all Hostility, and, at the same Time, invited the Commanders on Shoar. The *Johanna* Men on Board dissuaded their accepting the Invitation; but *Misson* and *Caraccioli*, fearing nothing, went, but arm'd their Boat's Crew. They were received by the King with Demonstrations of Friendship, and they dined with him under a Tamerane Tree; but when they parted from him, and were returning to their Boats, they were inclosed by, at least, 100 of the *Mohilians*, who set upon them with the utmost Fury, and, in the first Flight of Arrows, wounded both the Captains, and killed four of their Boat's Crew of eight, who were with them; they, in return, discharged their Pistols with some Execution, and fell in with their Cutlasses; but all their Bravery would have stood them in little Stead, had not the Report of their Pistols alarm'd and brought the rest of their Friends to their Assistance, who took their Fuzils, and coming up while they were engaged, discharged a Volley on the Back of the Assailants, which laid twelve of them dead on the Spot. The Ships hearing this Fire, sent immediately the Yawls and Long-Boats well mann'd. Though the Islanders were a little damp'd in their Courage by this Fire of the Boats Crew, yet they did not give over the Fight, and one of them desperately threw himself upon *Caraccioli*, and gave him a deep Wound in his Side, with a long Knife, but he paid for the Rashness of the Attempt with his Life, one of the Crew cleaving his Skull. The Yawls and Long-Boats now arrived, and being guided by the Noise, reinforced

their Companions, put the Traytors to Flight, and brought off their dead and wounded. The *Europeans* lost by this Treachery seven slain outright, and eight wounded, six of which recovered.

The Crew were resolved to revenge the Blood of their Officers and Comrades the next Day, and were accordingly on the Point of Landing, when two Canoes came off with two Men bound, the pretended Authors of this Treason, without the King's Knowledge, who had sent 'em that they might receive the Punishment due to their Villany. The *Johanna* Men on Board were call'd for Interpreters, who having given this Account, added, that the King only sacrificed these Men, but that they should not believe him, for he certainly had given Orders for assassinating the *Europeans*; and the better Way was to kill all the *Mohilians* that came in the Canoes as well as the two Prisoners; go back to *Johanna*, take more of their Countrymen, and give no Peace to Traytors; but *Misson* was for no such violent Measures, he was averse to every Thing that bore the Face of Cruelty and thought a bloody Revenge, if Necessity did not enforce it, spoke a groveling and timid Soul; he, therefore, sent those of the Canoes back, and bid them tell their King, if before the Evening he sent the Hostages agreed upon, he should give Credit to his Excuse, but if he did not, he should believe him the Author of the late vile Attempt on his Life.

The Canoes went off but returned not with an Answer, wherefore, he bid the *Johanna* Men tell the two Prisoners that they should be set on Shore the next Morning, and order'd them to acquaint their King, he was no Executioner to put those to Death whom he had condemn'd, but that he should find, he knew how to revenge himself of his Treason. The Prisoners being unbound, threw themselves at his Feet, and begg'd that he would not send them ashore, for they should be surely put to Death, for the Crime they had committed, was, the dissuading the barbarous Action of which they were accused as Authors.

Next Day the two Ships landed 200 Men, under the Cover of their Canon; but that Precaution of bringing their Ships close to the Shore they found needless; not a Soul appearing, they march'd two Leagues up the Country, when they saw a Body of Men appear behind some Shrubs; *Caraccioli's* Lieutenant, who commanded the right Wing, with fifty Men made up to them, but found he had got among Pit Falls artificially cover'd, several of his Men falling into them, which made him halt, and not pursue those *Mohilians* who made a feint Retreat to ensnare him, thinking it dangerous to proceed farther; and seeing no Enemy would face them, they retired the same Way they came, and getting into their Boats, went on Board the Ships, resolving to return with a strong Reinforcement, and make Descents at one and the same Time in different Parts of the Island. They ask'd the two Prisoners how the Country lay, and what the Soil was on the

North Side the Island; and they answer'd it was morass, and the most dangerous Part to attempt, it being a Place where they shelter on any imminent Danger.

The Ships return'd to *Johanna*, where the greatest Tenderness and Care was shewn for the Recovery and Cure of the two Captains and of their Men; they lay six Weeks before they were able to walk the Decks, for neither of them would quit his Ship. Their *Johanna* Wives expressed a Concern they did not think them capable of, nay, a Wife of one of the wounded Men who died, stood some Time looking upon the Corpse as motionless as a Statue, then embracing it, without shedding a Tear, desired she might take it ashore to wash and bury it; and at the same Time, by an Interpreter, and with a little Mixture of *European* Language, she had, begg'd her late Husband's Friends would take their Leave of him the next Day.

Accordingly a Number went ashore, and carried with them the Dividend, which fell to his Share, which the Captain order'd to be given his Widow; when she saw the Money, she smil'd, and ask'd if all, all that was for her? Being answered in the affirmative, and what Good will all that shining Dirt do me, if I could with it purchase the Life of my Husband, and call him back from the Grave, I would accept it with Pleasure, but as it is not sufficient to allure him back to this World, I have no Use for it; do with it what you please. Then she desired they would go with her and perform the last Ceremonies to her Husband's dead Body, after their Country Fashion, least he should be displeased, that she could not stay with them, to be a Witness, because she was in haste to go and be married again. She startled the *Europeans* who heard this latter Part of her Speech so dissonant from the Beginning; however, they followed her, and she led them into a Plantane Walk, where they found a great many *Johanna* Men and Women, sitting under the Shade of Plantanes, round the Corpse, which lay (as they all sate) on the Ground, covered with Flowers. She embraced them round, and then the *Europeans*, one by one, and after these Ceremonies, she poured out a Number of bitter Imprecations against the *Mohila* Men, whose Treachery had darken'd her Husband's Eyes, and made him insensible of her Caresses, who was her first Love, to whom she had given her Heart, with her Virginity. She then proceeded in his Praises, calling him the Joy of Infants, the Love of Virgins, the Delight of the old, and the Wonder of the young, adding, he was strong and beautiful as the Cedar, brave as the Bull, tender as the Kid, and loving as the Ground Turtle; having finished this Oration, not unlike those of the *Romans*, which the nearest Relation of the deceas'd used to pronounce from the Rostrum, she laid her down by the Side of her Husband, embracing him, and sitting up again, gave herself a deep Wound under the left Breast with a Bayonet, and fell dead on her Husband's Corpse.

The *Europeans* were astonished at the Tenderness and Resolution of the Girl, for she was not, by what her Mien spoke her, past seventeen; and they now admired, as much as they had secretly detested her, for saying she was in haste to be married again, the Meaning of which they did not understand.

After the Husband and Wife were buried, the Crew return'd on Board, and gave an Account of what had pass'd; the Captains Wives (for *Misson* and his were on Board the *Bijoux*, the Name they had given their Prize from her Make and Gilding) seem'd not in the least surprized, and *Caraccioli's* Lady only said, she must be of noble Descent, for none but the Families of the Nobility had the Privilege allowed them of following their Husbands, on pain, if they transgressed, of being thrown into the Sea, to be eat by Fish; and they knew, that their Souls could not rest as long as any of the Fish, who fed upon them, lived. *Misson* asked, if they intended to have done the same Thing had they died? We should not, answer'd his Wife, have disgraced our Families; nor is our Tenderness for our Husbands inferior to hers whom you seem to admire.

After their Recovery, *Misson* proposed a Cruize, on the Coast of *Zangueber*, which being agreed to, he and *Caraccioli* took Leave of the Queen and her Brother, and would have left their Wives on the Island, but they could by no Means be induced to the Separation; it was in vain to urge the Shortness of the Time they were to Cruize; they answer'd it was farther than *Mohila* they intended to go, and if they were miserable in that short Absence, they could never support a longer; and if they would not allow them to keep them Company the Voyage, they must not expect to see them at their Return, if they intended one.

In a Word they were obliged to yield to them, but told them, if the Wives of their Men should insist as strongly on following their Example, their Tenderness, would be their Ruin, and make them a Prey to their Enemies; they answer'd the Queen should prevent that, by ordering no Woman should go on Board, and if any were in the Ships, they should return on Shore: This Order was accordingly made, and they set Sail for the River of *Mozambique*. In about ten Days Cruize after they had left *Johanna*, and about 15 Leagues to the Eastward of this River, they fell in with a stout *Portuguese* Ship of 60 Guns, which engaged them from Break of Day till Two in the Afternoon, when the Captain being killed, and a great Number of Men lost, she struck: This proved a very rich Prize, for she had the Value of 250000 l. Sterling on Board, in Gold-Dust. The two Women never quitted the Decks all the Time of the Engagement, neither gave they the least Mark of Fear, except for their Husbands: This Engagement cost them thirty Men, and *Caraccioli* lost his right Leg; the Slaughter fell mostly on the *English*, for of the above Number, twenty were of that Nation: The *Portuguese* lost double the

Number. *Caraccioli's* Wound made them resolve to make the best of their Way for *Johanna*, where the greatest Care was taken of their wounded, not one of whom died, tho' their Number amounted to Twenty seven.

Caraccioli kept his Bed two Months, but *Misson* seeing him in a fair way of Recovery, took what Hands could be spar'd from the *Bijoux*, leaving her sufficient for Defence, and went out, having mounted ten of the *Portuguese* Guns, for he had hitherto carried but thirty, though he had Ports for forty. He stretched over to *Madagascar*, and coasted along this Island to the Northward, as far as the most northerly Point, when turning back, he enter'd a Bay to the northward of *Diego Suares*. He run ten Leagues up this Bay, and on the larboard Side found it afforded a large, and safe, Harbour, with plenty of fresh Water. He came here to an Anchor, went ashore and examined into the Nature of the Soil, which he found rich, the Air wholesome, and the Country level. He told his Men, that this was an excellent Place for an Asylum, and that he determined here to fortify and raise a small Town, and make Docks for Shipping, that they might have some Place to call their own; and a Receptacle, when Age or Wounds had render'd them incapable of Hardship, where they might enjoy the Fruits of their Labour, and go to their Graves in Peace. That he would not, however, set about this, till he had the Approbation of the whole Company; and were he sure they would all approve this Design, which he hoped, it being evidently for the general Good, he should not think it adviseable to begin any Works, lest the Natives should, in his Absence, destroy them; but however, as they had nothing upon their Hands, if they were of his Opinion, they might begin to fall and square Timber, ready for the raising a wooden Fort, when they return'd with their Companions.

The Captain's Motion was universally applauded, and in ten Days they fell'd and rough hew'd a hundred and fifty large Trees, without any Interruption from, or seeing any of, the Inhabitants. They fell'd their Timber at the Waters Edge, so that they had not the Trouble of hawling them any way, which would have employ'd a great deal more Time: They returned again, and acquainted their Companions with what they had seen and done, and with the Captain's Resolution, which they one and all came into.

Captain *Misson* then told the Queen, as he had been serviceable to her in her War with the Island of *Mohila*, and might continue to be of farther Use, he did not question her lending him Assistance in the settling himself on the Coast of *Madagascar*, and to that end, furnish him with 300 Men, to help in his Buildings; the Queen answered, she could do nothing without Consent of Council, and that she would assemble her Nobility, and did not question their agreeing to any Thing he could reasonably desire, for they were sensible of the

Obligations the *Johannians* had to him. The Council was accordingly called, and *Misson's* Demand being told, one of the eldest said, he did not think it expedient to comply with it, nor safe to refuse; that they should in agreeing to give him that Assistance, help to raise a Power, which might prove formidable to themselves, by the being so near a Neighbour; and these Men who had lately protected, might, when they found it for their Interest, enslave them. On the other hand, if they did not comply, they had the Power to do them great Damage. That they were to make choice of the least of two possible Evils, for he could prognosticate no Good to *Johanna*, by their settling near it. Another answered, that many of them had *Johanna* Wives, that it was not likely they would make Enemies of the *Johanna* Men at first settling, because their Friendship might be of Use to them; and from their Children there was nothing to be apprehended in the next Generation, for they would be half their own Blood; that in the mean while, if they comply'd with the Request, they might be sure of an Ally, and Protector, against the King of *Mohila*; wherefore, he was for agreeing to the Demand.

After a long Debate, in which every Inconvenience, and Advantage, was maturely considered, it was agreed to send with him the Number of Men he required, on Condition he should send them back in four Moons, make an Alliance with them, and War against *Mohila*; this being agreed to, they staid till *Caraccioli* was thoroughly recovered, then putting the *Johannians* on board the *Portuguese* Ship with 40 *French* and *English* and 15 *Portuguese* to work her, and setting Sail, they arrived at the Place where *Misson* designed his Settlement, which he called *Libertalia*, and gave the Name of *Liberi* to his People, desiring in that might be drown'd the distinguish'd Names of *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, *Africans*, &c.

The first Thing they sat about was, the raising a Fort on each Side the Harbour, which they made of an octagon Figure, and having finished and mounted them with 40 Guns taken out of the *Portuguese*, they raised a Battery on an Angle of ten Guns, and began to raise Houses and Magazines under the Protection of their Forts and Ships; the *Portuguese* was unrigg'd, and all her Sails and Cordage carefully laid up. While they were very busily employed in the raising a Town, a Party which had often hunted and rambled four or five Leagues off their Settlement, resolved to venture farther into the Country. They made themselves some Huts, at about 4 Leagues distance from their Companions, and travell'd East South East, about 5 Leagues farther into the Country, when they came up with a Black, who was arm'd with a Bow, Arrows, and a Javelin; they with a friendly Appearance engaged the Fellow to lay by his Fear and go with them. They carried him to their Companions, and there

entertained him three Days with a great Deal of Humanity, and then returned with him near the Place they found him, made him a Present of a Piece of scarlet Baze, and an Ax; he appeared overjoy'd at the Present, and left them with seeming Satisfaction.

The Hunters imagined that there might be some Village not far off, and observing that he look'd at the Sun, and then took his Way direct South, they travell'd on the same Point of the Compass, and from the Top of a Hill they spied a pretty large Village, and went down to it; the Men came out with their Arms, such as before described, Bows, Arrows, and Javelins, but upon two only of the Whites advancing, with Presents of Axes, and Baze in their Hands, they sent only four to meet them. The Misfortune was, that they could not understand one another, but by their pointing to the Sun, and holding up one Finger, and making one of them go forward, and return again with shewing their Circumcision, and pointing up to Heaven with one Finger, they apprehended, they gave them to understand, there was but one God, who had sent one Prophet, and concluded from thence, and their Circumcision they were *Mahometans*; the Presents were carried to their Chief, and he seem'd to receive them kindly, and by Signs invited the Whites into their Village; but they, remembering the late Treachery of the *Mohilians*, made Signs for Victuals to be brought them where they were.

More of the History of these Adventurers in another Place.



OF
Capt. JOHN BOWEN.

The exact Time of this Person's setting out I am not certain of; I find him cruising on the *Mallabar* Coast in the Year 1700, commanding a Ship called the *Speaker*, whose Crew consisted of Men of all Nations, and their Pyracies were committed upon Ships of all Nations likewise. The Pyrates here met with no Manner of Inconveniencies in carrying on their Designs, for it was made so much a Trade, that the Merchants of one Town never scrupled the buying Commodities taken from another, though but ten Miles distant, in a publick Sale, furnishing the Robbers at the same Time with all Necessaries, even of Vessels, when they had Occasion to go on any Expedition, which they themselves would often advise them of.

Among the rest an *English East-India* Man, Captain *Coneway* from *Bengal*, fell into the Hands of this Crew, which they made Prize of, near *Callequilon*; they carried her in, and put her up to sale, dividing the Ship and Cargoe into three Shares; one Third was sold to a Merchant, Native of *Callequilon* aforesaid, another Third to a Merchant of *Porca*, and the other to one *Malpa*, a *Dutch* Factor.

Loaded with the Spoil of this and several Country Ships, they left the Coast, and steer'd for *Madagascar*; but in their Voyage thither, meeting with adverse Winds, and, being negligent in their Steerage, they ran upon *St. Thomas's* Reef, at the Island of *Mauritius*, where the Ship was lost; but *Bowen* and the greatest Part of the Crew got safe ashore.

They met here with all the Civility and good Treatment imaginable; *Bowen* was complimented in a particular Manner by the Governor, and splendidly entertained in his House; the sick Men were got, with great Care, into the Fort, and cured by their Doctor, and no Supplies of any sort wanting for the rest. They spent here three Months, but yet resolving to set down at *Madagascar*, they bought a Sloop, which they converted into a Brigantine, and, about the middle of *March* 1701, departed, having first taken formal Leave of the Governor, by

making a Present of 2500 Pieces of Eight, leaving him, besides, the Wreck of their Ship, with the Guns, Stores, and every Thing else that was saved. The Governor, on his Part, supply'd them with Necessaries for their Voyage, which was but short, and gave them a kind Invitation to make that Island a Place of Refreshment in the Course of their future Adventures, promising that nothing should be wanting to them that his Government afforded.

Upon their Arrival at *Madagascar*, they put in at a Place on the East-Side, called *Maritan*, quitted their Vessel, and settled themselves ashore in a fruitful Plain on the Side of a River. They built themselves a Fort on the River's Mouth towards the Sea, and another small one on the other Side towards the Country; the first to prevent a Surprise from Shipping, and the other as a Security from the Natives, many of whom they employed in the Building. They built also a little Town for their Habitation, which took up the Remainder of the Year 1701.

When this was done, they soon became dissatisfied with their new Situation, having a hankering Mind after their old Employment, and accordingly resolved to fit up the Brigantine they had from the *Dutch* at *Mauritius*, which was laid in a Cove near their Settlement, but an Accident, that they improved, provided for them in a better Manner, and saved them a great deal of Trouble.

It happened that about the beginning of the Year 1702, a Ship called the *Speedy Return*, belonging to the *Scotch-African* and *East-India* Company, Captain *Drummond* Commander, came into the Port of *Maritan* in *Madagascar*, with a Brigantine that belonged to her; they had before taken in Negroes at St. *Mary's*, a little Island adjoining to the main Island of *Madagascar*, and carried them to *Don Mascarenhas*, from whence they sailed to this Port on the same Trade.

On the Ship's Arrival, Captain *Drummond*, with *Andrew Wilky*, his Surgeon, and several others of the Crew, went on Shore; in the mean while *John Bowen*, with four others of his Consorts, goes off in a little Boat, on Pretence of buying some of their Merchandize brought from *Europe*, and finding a fair Opportunity, the chief Mate, Boatswain, and a Hand or two more only upon the Deck, and the rest at Work in the Hold, they threw off their Mask; each drew out a Pistol and Hanger, and told them, they were all dead Men if they did not retire that Moment to the Cabin. The Surprise was sudden, and they thought it necessary to obey; one of the Pyrates placed himself Centry at the Door, with his Arms in his Hands, and the rest immediately laid the Hatches, and then made a Signal to their Fellows on Shore, as agreed on; upon which, about forty or fifty came on Board, and took quiet Possession of the Ship, and afterwards the Brigantine, without Bloodshed, or striking a Stroke.

Bowen was made, or rather made himself, of Course, Captain; he detained the

old Crew, or the greatest Part thereof, burnt the Brigantine as being of no Use to them, cleaned and fitted the Ship, took Water, Provisions, and what Necessaries were wanting, and made ready for new Adventures.

I shall leave them a while, to relate an unfortunate Story of a worthy honest Gentleman, who suffered through the Rashness and Folly of a headstrong People, for pyratcally taking and murdering the Captain and Crew of this very Ship *Bowen* and his Gang now seized.

An *English-India* Man, commanded by Captain *Thomas Green*, called the *Worcester*, in her Voyage home to *England*, was drove by southerly Winds into *Scotland*, in the Month of *July* 1704, and anchored in *Leith* Road; the Captain, and several of the Ship's Company, going ashore for Refreshments, the People of the Town, who had Acquaintance and Friends in Captain *Drummond's* Ship, understanding the *Worcester* came from the *East-Indies*, were very importunate in their Enquiries after this Ship, and being told that they had heard of no such Ship in *India*, the Enquirers pretended to be very much surprized; so that, in short, it grew into a Suspicion that the *Worcester* had not dealt fairly by the *Scotch* Ship, which they had not heard of themselves since her Departure. In short, the Magistrates were inform'd that some of the Crew had dropt Words that plainly indicated the supposed Robbery and Murders of their Countrymen. Upon this several Men were privately examined; sometimes they were threaten'd to be hanged, and then again large Promises were made to encourage 'em to discover the pretended Fact; till at length an *Indian* Boy was prevailed on to confess the whole Matter upon Oath, as they might think. Then the Captain, chief Mate and Crew, were seized and sent to Prison, the Ship was unloaded, and almost ripp'd to Pieces, to search for Goods, Writings, &c. to confirm the *Indian's* Deposition, but nothing could be found; therefore they were obliged to try them, and try them they did, upon this Evidence, and some small Circumstances sworn to by *Charles May*, the Surgeon, which carried great Improbabilities along with it. The Depositions were as follow; the *Indian*, whose Name was *Antonio Ferdinando* swore, 'That on the Coast of *Mallabar* he came aboard the Sloop that attended the *Worcester*, and thereafter saw an Engagement between the said Sloop, the *Worcester* and another Ship, sailed by White Men, speaking *English*, and bearing *English* Colours. That they did engage the said Ship for three Days, and on the third Day the said Ship was boarded by those in the Sloop, who took up the Crew of the said Ship from under Deck, killed them with Hatchets, and threw them overboard.'

Charles May only deposed, 'That being ashore at *Callequillon* he heard Guns firing at Sea, and asking some Body he met at the Landing Place, what meant this shooting? He was answered, the *Worcester* was gone out, and was fighting

at Sea with another Ship. That the next Morning he saw the *Worcester* riding at her Birth, where she had rid the Day before, and another Ship riding at her Stern. That the *Worcester's* Long-Boat coming ashore, and he asking the Men what brought them ashore? They answered, they were sent for Water, they having spilt and staved all their Water; and that they had been busking all Night. That *this Evidence* going aboard five or six Days after, saw the Ship lumber'd with Goods, and that he was inform'd that the Ship that was riding at the *Worcester's* Stern, was sold to *Cogo Comodo*, Merchant at *Quillon*. That *Antonio Ferdinando* was wounded, and some others; and when he ask'd the Patients how they came by their Wounds, they were forbid to answer by Mr. *Madder*, the chief Mate. That all this fell out between the Months of *January* and *February* 1703.'

As to *Antonio's* Deposition, it appear'd to be all Invention, and nothing true in it; and *Charles May's* a Heap of sly Insinuations, drawn from a known Fact, which was this; the *Worcester* departing from *Calleguillon* to *Carnipole*, was drove by Stress of Weather from near the Road of *Quillon* to *Anjango*, where coming near the *Aureng Zeb*, *India* Man, she saluted her with five Guns, which were the Guns the Surgeon heard; and the *Aureng Zeb* came in along with the *Worcester*, and anchor'd at her Stern, which was the Ship taken Notice of by him. By busking all Night is meant only beating to Windward, which she did in order to fetch *Quillon*, the Wind being contrary. The *Worcester* spar'd her Water to the *Aureng Zeb*, which occasioned their sending for more, and the wounded Men, which were proved to be no more than three in the Voyage; one was from a Fall in the Hold, another by fighting with Knives, between two *Dutch* Men, and the other by cutting of Wood.

'Tis observable likewise, that *May's* Evidence, which is brought to support *Antonio's*, contradicted it in several Parts; for *Antonio* swore the Fact to be done between *Callicut* and *Tallecherry*, (where, by the Way, the Ship never was, as was own'd by the Surgeon, and prov'd by the Captain's and other Journals) and *May* heard the Guns at *Calleguillon*, which could not be less then 140 Miles asunder. *Antonio* makes the supposed Engagement hold three Days; according to *May*, the *Worcester* was busking only one Night; all the rest of his Evidence is, *As he was inform'd*, *As he was told*, &c. And what's remarkable of this *May*, is, he was eighteen Months after this in the said Ship, and own'd on the Trial, that he never heard in all that Time one Word spoken of a Fight with any other Ship, or a Prize taken, or any Thing relating to such an Action, which must be very strange, if the Matter had been true.

In short, Captain *Green* and the rest of the Crew were convicted, and received Sentence for the supposed Crimes, as follows, *Green*, *Madder*, *Sympson*, *Keigle* and *Haines* to be hanged on *Wednesday*, *April* 4th. *Taylor*, *Glenn*, *Kitchen* and

Robertson, on Wednesday, April 11th, and Brown, Bruckley, Wilcocks, Ballantyne and Linsey, on Wednesday, April 18th.

I cannot but here take Notice (though with much Concern) that upon the Condemnation of these unhappy Men, there seemed a universal Joy in and about the City; it was the only Discourse for some Days, and every Man thought himself nearly concerned in it; and some could not forbear in Words openly to express their brutal Joy: *Now, said they, we'll Darien 'em: By this they shall see we'll do our selves Justice, &c.*

After Sentence, the Prisoners desired not to be disturb'd in their dying Moments, that they might improve 'em to the best Advantage; but now they were not only insulted with the most opprobrious Language, by such as could get to 'em, but continually worried by the religious Kirk Teachers. The most dismal Threatnings were denounc'd against 'em, and nothing but God's Wrath and eternal Torments in all its Horrors, were to be their Portion, if they died obdurate (as they call'd it) that is, without owning themselves guilty; and all this delivered with that Passion peculiar to that bitter Sett of Men. Nay, so restless were they, that even now, after Condemnation, they singled out some they found more terrified by their Cant, and assur'd 'em of Life if they would ingenuously acknowledge the Crimes they were condemned for; and, at last, worked so far upon *Haines* and *Linsey*, that they brought them to own almost what they pleased. The former of these, upon their Pardons being granted, gave a frightful Account of the whole Pyracry and Murther upon *Drummond's* Ship, and took Care, as near as he could, to keep close with *Ferdinando's* Evidence, only here and there he was out in very material Points, as Men always are that don't relate Matters of Fact. There was a great many bloody Circumstances added to colour the whole, as their Manner of Swearing when they commenced Pyrates (much like the ridiculous Ceremonies at making of Witches) which, he said, was thus; Every one of 'em was let Blood, which they mixed together, and after every Man had drank part, they all swore to Secrecy, &c. with abundance of such Stuff. *Linsey*, a Man of better Sense, contented himself with saying as little as possible, which was excusable, he being on shoar in the pretended Engagement, so that most of what he said, consisted in Hearsays of the *Indians*, &c. Thus these poor Wretches screen'd themselves from this fatal Blow, at the Expence of Faith and a good Conscience, and to enjoy a troublesome Life, perhaps a few Years.

As soon as their Confessions were made publick, the Gentry, as well as the Mob, was transported with Rage, and the poor Wretches were blackened and reviled in a shameful Manner; and so violent was the Torrent of their Fury, that it reached even their Council for their Tryals, and they were obliged, for their own Safety, to withdraw into the Country.

In the midst of this Confusion two Men, who were known to be of *Drummond's* Crew, came home in the *Raper* Galley, and made Affidavits of the Loss of the said Ship to the Pyrates, as has been mentioned; upon which her Majesty and Council first reprieved them for eight Days, and afterwards desired Execution might be farther respited till they heard from above.

The common People, who for some Time past, with raised Expectations, had waited for the Execution, began to grow very impatient, bitterly inveighing against the Reprieve; and the Council met on the 11th of *April* in the Morning, to consider what was to be done; which the Mob perceiving, imagined 'twas in order to a further Reprieve or Pardon; immediately all Shops were shut up, and the Streets filled with incredible Numbers of Men, Women and Children, calling for Justice upon those *English* Murtherers. The Lord Chancellour *Seafield's* Coach happening to pass by, they stopp'd it, broke the Sashes, haul'd him out, and oblig'd him to promise Execution should speedily be done before he could get from 'em.

According to the Chancellor's Promise, soon after, on the same Day, being *Wednesday*, Captain *Green*, *Madder*, and *Sympson* were brought out, and convey'd to Execution, which was at *Leith Road* upon the Sands, and all the Way were huzza'd in triumph as it were, and insulted with the sharpest and most bitter Invectives.

Thus fell these unhappy Men a well-pleasing Sacrifice to the Malice of wicked Men.

As for Captain *Green's* Speech; after he had taken Notice of the Crimes he was to dye for, and appealed to all present to charge him, or the Crew, with any Injustice, since he had lived there; he goes on in giving an Account of his Faith, his living and dying in the Church of *England*, of their Manner of Life abroad, their Observance of religious Duties, and the Sense he had of the Impossibility of Salvation, if he dy'd with a Falshood in his Mouth. Then follows,—'Pursuant to which, I in the Presence of Almighty God, declare to you his People, that I am innocent in Design or Deed, and free from the Crimes for which I am condemned. That to my Knowledge, I never all my Life-time wrong'd Man in his Person or Goods, or had Accession thereto. What the Custom of Pyrates is, I thank God I know not: But I understand my Accusers and Persecuters will have you to believe, that I think it unnecessary to confess before Men. Take what I say as good Christians ought to do; if you have no Charity, you wrong yourselves, and cannot hurt me.'

'I am told some of my Crew have confess'd the Crimes, and load us with Guilt; this is done since Sentence, and in hopes of saving themselves, which I wish they may do by lawful Means, and not have Accession to the shedding

innocent Blood. I am a dying, these are still in hopes to live, chuse you which of us to believe, &c.'

To return to Captain *Bowen*, who pyratically possessed himself of Captain *Drummond's* Ship and Brigantine, as aforesaid, he, being inform'd by the Crew, that when they left *Don Mascarenhas*, a Ship called the *Rook* Galley, Captain *Honeycomb* Commander, was lying in that Bay, resolved, with the other Pyrates, to sail thither, but it taking up seven or eight Days in watering their Vessels, and settling their private Affairs, they arrived not at the Island till after the Departure of the said Galley, who thereby happily escaped the villainous Snare of their unprovok'd Enemies.

The Night after the Pyrates left *Maritan*, the Brigantine ran on a Ledge of Rocks off the West Side of the Island *Madagascar*, which not being perceived by the Ship, *Bowen* came into *Mascarenhas* without her, not knowing what was become of his Consort.

Here Captain *Bowen* staid eight or ten Days, in which Time he supplied the Ship with Provisions, and judging, that the *Rook* Galley was gone to some other Island, the Ship sail'd to *Mauritius*, in search of her; but the Pyrates seeing four or five Ships in the N. W. Harbour, they thought themselves too weak to attempt any thing there, so they stood immediately for *Madagascar* again, and arrived safe, first to *Port Dauphin*, and then to *Augustin Bay*. In a few Days the *Content* Brigantine, which they supposed either to have been lost, or revolted that honourable Service, came into the same Bay, and informed their Brethren of the Misfortune that happened to them: The Rogues were glad, no doubt, of seeing one another again, and calling a Council together, they found the Brigantine in no Condition for Business, being then very leaky, therefore she was condemned, and forthwith halled ashore and burnt, and the Crew united, and all went aboard the *Speedy Return*.

At this Place the Pyrates were made acquainted, by the Negroes, of the Adventures of another Gang that had settled for some Time near that Harbour, and had one *Howard* for their Captain. It was the Misfortune of an *India* Ship called the *Prosperous*, to come into the Bay at a Time that these Rogues were looking out for Employment; who, under the Pretence of trading (almost in the same Manner that *Bowen* and his Gang had seized the *Speedy Return*) made themselves Masters of her, and sailed with her to *New Mathelage*. *Bowen* and his Gang consulting together on this Intelligence, concluded 'twas more for their Interest to join in Alliance with this new Company, than to act single, they being too weak of themselves to undertake any considerable Enterprize, remembring how they were obliged to bear away from the Island of *Mauritius*, when they were in search of the *Rook* Gally, which they might have taken, with several

others, had they had at that Time a Consort of equal Force to their own Ship.

They accordingly set sail from the Bay, and came into *New Mathelage*, but found no Ship there, tho' upon Enquiry they understood that the Pyrate they look'd for, had been at the Place, but was gone; so after some Stay they proceeded to *Johanna*, but the *Prosperous* not being there neither, they sailed to *Mayotta*, where they found her lying at Anchor; this was about *Christmas* 1702.

Here these two Powers struck up an Alliance, *Howard* liking the Proposals, came readily into it, and the Treaty was ratified by both Companies. They staid above two Months at this Island, thinking it, perhaps, as likely a Place to meet with Prey as cruising out for it, and so indeed it happened; for about the beginning of *March*, the Ship *Pembroke* belonging to our *East-India* Company, coming in for Water, was boarded by their Boats, and taken, with the Loss of the chief Mate and another Man that were killed in the Skirmish.

The two Pyrate Ships weighed, and went out to Sea along with their Prize, and that Day and the next plundered her of the best Part of her Cargo, Provisions and Stores, and then taking the Captain and Carpenter away, they let the *Pembroke* go where the Remainder of her Crew pleased, and came with their Ships into *New Methelage*. Here the two Captains consulted, and laid a Plan for a Cruize to *India*, for which Purpose they detained Captain *Woolley* of the *Pembroke* lately taken, in order to be their Pilot in those Seas; but a very hot Dispute arose between the two Companies, which Ship he should go aboard of, insomuch that they had gone together by the Ears, if an Expedient had not been found to satisfy each Party, that one might not have the Advantage of the other by the Captain's Skill and Knowledge of the *Indian* Coast, and this was to knock the poor Man on the Head; and murder him; but at last, by the Authority of *Bowen*, Captain *Woolley* escaped the threaten'd Danger, by bringing his Company to consent to his remaining on board the *Prosperous*, where he then was.

The *Speedy Return* being foul, and wanting a little Repair, it was judged proper for her to go back to *Augustin* Bay to clean; in the mean while the *Prosperous* was to have a Pair of Boot-Tops where she lay, and likewise to take in Water and Provision, and then to join their Consort again at *Mayotta*, the Island appointed for the Rendezvous.

The *Prosperous* put into *Mayotta* as agreed on, and waiting there some Time for *Bowen's* Ship, without seeing or hearing any News of her, went to *Johanna*, but not meeting with her there, they apprehended some Accident had befel her, and therefore left the Place, and sailed on the Expedition themselves. As to the *Speedy Return*, she arrived safe at *St. Augustin's* Bay at *Madagascar*, and there cleaned and victualled; but tarrying there somewhat too long, the Winds hung contrary, and they could not for their Lives beat up to *Mayotta*, and therefore

went to *Johanna*, where, hearing that their Friends had lately left that Island, they steered for the *Red Sea*, but the Wind not proving fair for their Design, they bore away for the High Land of *St. John's*, near *Surrat*, where they once more fell in Company with their Brethren of the *Prosperous*.

They cruiz'd together, as was first agreed on, and after some Time they had Sight of four Ships, to whom they gave Chace; but these separating, two standing to Northward, and two to the Southward, the Pyrates separated likewise, *Bowen* standing after those that steered Southerly, and *Howard* crowded after the others. *Bowen* came up with the heaviest of the two, which proved to be a *Moorish Ship* of 700 Tun, bound from the Gulph of *Mocha* to *Surat*. The Pyrates brought the Prize into *Rajapora*, on the Coast of *India*, where they plundered her; the Merchandize they sold to the Natives, but a small Sum of current Gold they found aboard, amounting to 22,000 *l. English Money*, they put into their Pockets. Two Days after the *Prosperous* came in, but without any Prize; however, they soon made their Friends acquainted that they had not succeeded worse than themselves, for at *Surat River's Mouth*, where all the four Ships were bound, they came up with their Chace; and with a Broadside, one of them struck, but the other got into the Bay. They stood down the Coast with the Prize till they had plundered her of the best of her Cargoe, the most valuable of which was 84,000 *Chequins*, a Piece of about ten Shillings each, and then they left her adrift, without either Anchor or Cable, off *Daman*.

While they were lying at *Rajapora* they past a Survey on their Shipping, and judging their own to be less serviceable than their Prize, they voted them to the Flames, and straightway fitted up the *Surat Ship*; they transported both Companies aboard of her, and then set Fire to the *Prosperous* and *Speedy Return*. They mustered at this Place 164 fighting Men, 43 only were *English*, the greater Number *French*, the rest *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Dutch*; they took aboard 70 *Indians* to do the Drudgery of the Ship, and mounted 56 Guns, calling her the *Defiance*, and sailed from *Rajapora* the latter End of *October*, in the Year 1703, to cruize on the Coast of *Mallabar*:

But not meeting with Prey in this first Cruise, they came to an Anchor about three Leagues to the Northward of *Cochen*, expecting some Boats to come off with Supplies of Refreshments, for which Purpose they fired several Guns, by way of Signal, but none appearing, the Quarter-Master was sent in the Pinnacle to confer with the People, which he did with some Caution, keeping the Boat upon their Oars at the Shore-Side: In short, they agreed very well, the Pyrates were promised whatever Necessaries they wanted, and the Boat returned aboard.

The next Day a Boat came off from the Town with Hogs, Goats, Wine, &c. with a private Intimation from *Malpa*, the *Dutch Broker*, an old Friend of the

Pirates, that a Ship of that Country called the *Rimæ*, lay then in *Mudbay*, not many Leagues off, and if they would go out and take her, he would purchase the Cargo of them, and likewise promised that they should be further supplied with Pitch, Tar, and all other Necessaries, which was made good to them; for People from the Factory flocked aboard every Hour, and dealt with them as in open Market, for all Sorts of Merchandize, Refreshments, Jewels and Plate, returning with Coffers of Money, &c. to a great Value.

The Advice of the Ship was taken very kindly, but the Pirates judging their own Ship too large to go close into the Bay, consulted their Friend upon Means for taking the said Ship, who readily treated with them for the Sale of one of less Burthen that lay then in the Harbour; but *Malpa* speaking to one *Punt* of the Factory to carry her out, he not only refused to be concerned in such a Piece of Villainy, but reproved *Malpa* for corresponding with the Pirates, and told him, if he should be guilty of so base an Action, he must never see the Face of any of his Countrymen more; which made the honest Broker change both his Countenance and his Purpose.

At this Place Captain *Woolley*, whom they had taken for their Pilot on the *India* Coast, being in a very sick and weak Condition, was, at his earnest Intreaty, discharged from his severe Confinement among them, and set ashore, and the next Day the Pirates sailed, and ranged along the *Mallabar* Coast, in quest of more Booty. In their Way they met a second time with the *Pembroke*, and plundered her of some Sugar, and other small Things, and let her go again. From the Coast they sail'd back for the Island of *Mauritius*, where they lay some Time, and lived after their usual extravagant Manner.

At *Mauritius* two of the Crew, viz. *Israel Phipeny* and *Peter Freeland*, left the Pirates and concealed themselves in the Island till the Ship sailed. These two Men were part of *Drummond's* Crew, who found an Opportunity of coming to *England* soon after on board the *Raper* Galley, and arrived at *Portsmouth* in *March* 1725. When this came to be known, Mr. *John Green*, Brother to Capt. *Green*, then under Sentence, went thither and got the Affidavits of the said *Phipeny* and *Freeland*, made before the Mayor of *Portsmouth*, containing several Matters herein mentioned, which Affidavits were immediately brought to *London*, and by the Secretary of State sent away Express to *Scotland*, which arrived there some Hours before Capt. *Green* was executed.



OF
Capt. *WILLIAM KID*.

We are now going to give an Account of one whose Name is better known in *England*, than most of those whose Histories we have already related; the Person we mean is Captain *Kid*, whose publick Trial and Execution here, rendered him the Subject of all Conversation, so that his Actions have been chanted about in Ballads; however, it is now a considerable Time since these Things passed, and though the People knew in general that Captain *Kid* was hanged, and that his Crime was Piracy, yet there were scarce any, even at that Time, who were acquainted with his Life or Actions, or could account for his turning Pirate.

In the Beginning of King *William's* War, Captain *Kid* commanded a Privateer in the *West-Indies*, and by several adventurous Actions acquired the Reputation of a brave Man, as well as an experienced Seaman. About this Time the Pirates were very troublesome in those Parts, wherefore Captain *Kid* was recommended by the Lord *Bellamont*, then Governor of *Barbadoes*, as well as by several other Persons, to the Government here, as a Person very fit to be entrusted with the Command of a Government Ship, and to be employed in cruising upon the Pirates, as knowing those Seas perfectly well, and being acquainted with all their lurking Places; but what Reasons governed the Politicks of those Times, I cannot tell, but this Proposal met with no Encouragement here, though it is certain it would have been of great Consequence to the Subject, our Merchants suffering incredible Damages by those Robbers.

Upon this Neglect the Lord *Bellamont* and some others, who knew what great Captures had been made by the Pirates, and what a prodigious Wealth must be in their Possession, were tempted to fit out a Ship at their own private Charge, and to give the Command of it to Captain *Kid*; and, to give the Thing a greater Reputation, as well as to keep their Seamen under the better Command, they procured the King's Commission for the said Captain *Kid*, of which the following is an exact Copy.

William Rex,

‘*W*illiam the Third, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty and well beloved Captain *William Kid*, Commander of the Ship the *Adventure* Gally, or to any other the Commander of the same for the Time being, GREETING; Whereas we are informed, that Captain *Thomas Too*, *John Ireland*, Captain *Thomas Wake*, and Captain *William Maze*, or *Mace*, and other Subjects, Natives or Inhabitants of *New-York*, and elsewhere, in our Plantations in *America*, have associated themselves, with divers others, wicked and ill disposed Persons, and do, against the Law of Nations, commit many and great Pyracies, Robberies and Depredations on the Seas upon the Parts of *America*, and in other Parts, to the great Hinderance and Discouragement of Trade and Navigation, and to the great Danger and Hurt of our loving Subjects, our Allies, and all others, navigating the Seas upon their lawful Occasions. Now KNOW YE, that we being desirous to prevent the aforesaid Mischiefs, and, as much as in us lies, to bring the said Pyrates, Free Booters and Sea Rovers to Justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said *William Kid* (to whom our Commissioners for exercising the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, have granted a Commission as a private Man of War, bearing Date the 11th Day of *December* 1695), and unto the Commander of the said Ship for the Time being, and unto the Officers, Mariners, and others, which shall be under your Command, full Power and Authority to apprehend, sieze, and take into your Custody as well the said Captain *Thomas Too*, *John Ireland*, Captain *Thomas Wake*, and Captain *William Maze*, or *Mace*, as all such Pyrates, Free Booters and Sea Rovers, being either our Subjects, or of other Nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the Seas, or Coasts of *America*, or upon any other Seas or Coasts, with all their Ships and Vessels; and all such Merchandizes, Money, Goods and Wares as shall be found on Board, or with them, in Case they shall willingly yield themselves; but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by Force to compel them to yield. And we do also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such Pyrates, Free Booters, or Sea Rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal Tryal, to the End they may be proceeded against according to the Law in such Cases. And we do hereby command all our Officers, Ministers, and other our loving Subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the Premises. And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact Journal of your Proceedings in the Execution of the Premises, and set down the Names of such Pyrates, and of their Officers and Company, and the Names of such Ships and Vessels as you shall by Vertue of these Presents take and seize, and the Quantities of Arms, Ammunition, Provision and Lading of such Ships, and the

true Value of the same, as near as you judge. And we do hereby strictly charge and command you as you will answer the contrary at your Peril, that you do not, in any Manner, offend or molest our Friends or Allies, their Ships, or Subjects, by Colour or Pretence of these Presents, or the Authority thereby granted. In Witness whereof we have caused our Great Seal of *England* to be affix'd to these Presents. Given at our Court of *Kensington*, the 26th Day of *January* 1695, in the seventh Year of our Reign.'

Captain *Kid* had also another Commission, which was called a Commission of Reprisals; for it being then War Time, this Commission was to justify him in the taking of *French* Merchant Ships, in Case he should meet with any; but as this Commission is nothing to our present Purpose, we shall not burthen the Readers with it.

With these two Commissions he sail'd out of *Plymouth* in *May* 1696, in the *Adventure* Gally of thirty Guns, and eighty Men; the Place he first design'd for was *New-York*; in his Voyage thither he took a *French* Banker, but this was no Act of PyracY, he having a Commission for that Purpose, as we have just observ'd.

When he arrived at *New York* he put up Articles for engaging more Hands, it being necessary to his Ships Crew, since he proposed to deal with a desperate Enemy: The Terms he offered were, that every Man should have a Share of what was taken, reserving for himself and Owners forty Shares. Upon which Encouragement he soon increas'd his Company to a hundred and fifty five Men.

With this Company he sail'd first for *Maderas*, where he took in Wine and some other Necessaries; from thence he proceeded to *Bonavist*, one of the *Cape de Verd Islands*, to furnish the Ship with Salt, and from thence went immediately to *St. Jago*, another of the *Cape de Verd Islands*, in order to stock himself with Provisions. When all this was done, he bent his Course to *Madagascar*, the known Rendezvouz of Pyrates; in his Way he fell in with Captain *Warren*, Commadore of three Men of War; he acquainted them with his Design, kept them Company two or three Days, and then leaving them, made the best Way for *Madagascar*, where he arrived in *February* 1696, just nine Months from his Departure from *Plymouth*.

It happen'd that at this Time the Pyrate Ships were most of them out in search of Prey; so that according to the best Intelligence Captain *Kid* could get, there was not one of them at that Time about the Island, wherefore having spent some Time in watering his Ship, and taking in more Provisions, he thought of trying his Fortune on the Coast of *Malabar*, where he arrived in the Month of *June* following, four Months from his reaching *Madagascar*. Hereabouts he made an unsuccessful Cruize, touching sometimes at the Island of *Mahala*, sometimes at

that of *Joanna*, betwixt *Malabar* and *Madagascar*: His Provisions were every Day wasting, and his Ship began to want Repair; wherefore, when he was at *Joanna*, he found Means of borrowing a Sum of Money from some *French* Men who had lost their Ship, but saved their Effects, and with this he purchas'd Materials for putting his Ship in good Repair.

It does not appear all this while that he had the least Design of turning Pyrate; for near *Mahala* and *Joanna* both, he met with several *Indian* Ships richly laden, to which he did not offer the least Violence, tho' he was strong enough to have done what he pleas'd with them; and the first Outrage or Depredation I find he committed upon Mankind, was after his repairing his Ship, and leaving *Joanna*; he touch'd at a Place call'd *Mabbee*, upon the *Red Sea*, where he took some *Guinea* Corn from the Natives, by Force.

After this he sail'd to *Bab's Key*, a Place upon a little Island at the Entrance of the *Red Sea*; here it was that he first began to open himself to his Ship's Company, and let them understand that he intended to change his Measures; for, happening to talk of the *Moca* Fleet which was to sail that Way, he said, *We have been unsuccessful hitherto, but Courage, my Boys, we'll make our Fortunes out of this Fleet*: And finding that none of them appear'd averse to it, he order'd a Boat out, well mann'd, to go upon the Coast to make Discoveries, commanding them to take a Prisoner and bring to him, or get Intelligence any Way they could. The Boat return'd in a few Days, bringing him Word, that they saw fourteen or fifteen Ships ready to sail, some with *English*, some with *Dutch*, and some with *Moorish* Colours.

We cannot account for this sudden Change in his Conduct, otherwise than by supposing that he first meant well, while he had Hopes of making his Fortune by taking of Pyrates; but now, weary of ill Success, and fearing least his Owners, out of Humour at their great Expences, should dismiss him, and he should want Employment, and be mark'd out for an unlucky Man; rather, I say, than run the Hazard of Poverty, he resolved to do his Business one Way, since he could not do it another.

He therefore order'd a Man continually to watch at the Mast Head, least this Fleet should go by them; and about four Days after, towards Evening, it appear'd in Sight, being convoy'd by one *English* and one *Dutch* Man of War. *Kid* soon fell in with them, and getting into the midst of them, fir'd at a *Moorish* Ship which was next him; but the Men of War taking the Alarm, bore down upon *Kid*, and firing upon him, obliged him to sheer off, he not being strong enough to contend with them. Now he had begun Hostilities, he resolv'd to go on, and therefore he went and cruis'd along the Coast of *Malabar*; the first Prize he met was a small Vessel belonging to *Aden*, the Vessel was *Moorish*, and the Owners

were *Moorish* Merchants, but the Master was an *English* Man, his Name was *Parker*. *Kid* forc'd him and a *Portuguese* that was call'd *Don Antonio*, which were all the *Europeans* on Board, to take on with them; the first he design'd as a Pilot, and the last as an Interpreter. He also used the Men very cruelly, causing them to be hoisted up by the Arms, and drubb'd with a naked Cutlash, to force them to discover whether they had Money on Board, and where it lay; but as they had neither Gold nor Silver on Board, he got nothing by his Cruelty; however, he took from them a Bale of Pepper, and a Bale of Coffee, and so let them go.

A little Time after he touch'd at *Carawar*, a Place upon the same Coast, where, before he arrived, the News of what he had done to the *Moorish* Ship had reach'd them; for some of the *English* Merchants there had received an Account of it from the Owners, who corresponded with them; wherefore, as soon as *Kid* came in, he was suspected to be the Person who committed this Pyracy; and one Mr. *Harvey* and Mr. *Mason*, two of the *English* Factory, came on Board and ask'd for *Parker*, and *Antonio* the *Portuguese*; but *Kid* deny'd that he knew any such Persons, having secur'd them both in a private Place in the Hold, where they were kept for seven or eight Days, that is, till *Kid* sail'd from thence.

However, the Coast was alarm'd, and a *Portuguese* Man of War was sent out to cruize: *Kid* met with her, and fought her about six Hours, gallantly enough; but finding her too strong to be taken, he quitted her; for he was able to run away from her when he would: Then he went to a Place call'd *Porco*, where he water'd the Ship, and bought a Number of Hogs of the Natives to victual his Company.

Soon after this, he came up with a *Moorish* Ship, the Master whereof was a *Dutch* Man, call'd *Schipper Mitchel*, and chased her under *French* Colours, which they observing, hoisted *French* Colours too: When he came up with her, he hail'd her in *French*, and they having a *French* Man on Board, answer'd him in the same Language; upon which he order'd them to send their Boat on Board; they were oblig'd to do so, and having examin'd who they were, and from whence they came; he ask'd the *French* Man, who was a Passenger, if he had a *French* Pass for himself? The *French* Man gave him to understand that he had. Then he told the *French* Man he must pass for Captain, and by G-d, says he, you are the Captain: The *French* Man durst not refuse doing as he would have him: The Meaning of this was, that he would seize the Ship as fair Prize, and as if she had belong'd to *French* Subjects, according to a Commission he had for that Purpose; tho', one would think, after what he had already done, that he need not have Recourse to a Quibble to give his Actions a Colour.

In short, he took the Cargo and sold it some Time after; yet still he seem'd to

have some Fears upon him least these Proceedings should have a bad End; for, coming up with a *Dutch Ship* some Time, when his Men thought of nothing but attacking her, *Kid* oppos'd it; upon which a Mutiny arose, and the Majority being for taking the said Ship, and arming themselves to Man the Boat to go and seize her, he told them, such as did, never should come on Board him again; which put an End to the Design, so that he kept Company with the said Ship some Time, without offering her any Violence: However, this Dispute was the Occasion of an Accident, upon which an Indictment was afterwards grounded against *Kid*; for *Moor*, the Gunner, being one Day upon Deck, and talking with *Kid* about the said *Dutch Ship*, some Words arose betwixt them, and *Moor* told *Kid*, that he had ruin'd them all; upon which, *Kid*, calling him Dog, took up a Bucket and struck him with it, which breaking his Skull, he died the next Day.

But *Kid*'s penitential Fit did not last long, for coasting along *Malabar*, he met with a great Number of Boats, all which he plunder'd. Upon the same Coast he also light upon a *Portuguese Ship*, which he kept Possession of a Week, and then having taken out of her some Chests of *India Goods*, thirty Jars of Butter, with some Wax, Iron, and a hundred Bags of Rice, he let her go.

Much about the same Time he went to one of the *Malabar Islands* for Wood and Water, and his Cooper being ashore, was murder'd by the Natives; upon which *Kid* himself landed, and burnt and pillaged several of their Houses, the People running away; but having taken one, he caused him to be tied to a Tree, and commanded one of his Men to shoot him; then putting to Sea again he took the greatest Prize, which fell into his Hands, while he followed this Trade; this was a *Moorish Ship* of 400 Tons richly laden, named the *Queda Merchant*, the Master whereof was an *English Man*, he was call'd *Wright*, for the *Indians* often make Use of *English* or *Dutch Men* to command their Ships, their own Mariners not being so good Artists in Navigation.—*Kid* chased her under *French Colours*, and having come up with her, he ordered her to hoist out her Boat, and to send on Board of him, which being done, he told *Wright* he was his Prisoner; and informing himself concerning the said Ship, he understood there were no *Europeans* on Board, except two *Dutch*, and one *Frenchman*, all the Rest being *Indians* or *Armenians*, and that the *Armenians* were Part Owners of the Cargoe. *Kid* gave the *Armenians* to understand, that if they would offer any Thing that was worth his taking for their Ransome, he would hearken to it: Upon which, they proposed to pay him twenty thousand Rupees, not quite three thousand Pounds Sterling; but *Kid* judg'd this would be making a bad Bargain, wherefore he rejected it, and setting the Crew on Shore, at different Places on the Coast, he soon sold as much of the Cargoe as came to near ten thousand Pounds. With Part of it he also trafficked, receiving in Exchange Provisions, or such other Goods as

he wanted; by Degrees he disposed of the whole Cargoe, and when the Division was made, it came to about two hundred Pounds a Man, and having reserved forty Shares to himself, his Dividend amounted to about eight thousand Pounds Sterling.

The *Indians* along the Coast came on Board and traffick'd with all Freedom, and he punctually performed his Bargains, till about the Time he was ready to sail; and then thinking he should have no further Occasion for them, he made no Scruple of taking their Goods, and setting them on Shore without any Payment in Money or Goods, which they little expected; for as they had been used to deal with Pyrates, they always found them Men of Honour in the Way of Trade: A People, Enemies to Deceit, and that scorn'd to rob but in their own Way.

Kid put some of his Men on Board the *Queda* Merchant, and with this Ship and his own sail'd for *Madagascar*; as soon as he was arrived and had cast Anchor, there came on Board of him a Canoe, in which were several *Englishmen*, who had formerly been well acquainted with *Kid*; as soon as they saw him they saluted him, and told him, they were informed he was come to take them, and hang them, which would be a little unkind in such an old Acquaintance; *Kid* soon dissipated their Doubts, by swearing he had no such Design, and that he was now in every Respect their Brother, and just as bad as they; and calling for a Cup of Bomboo, drank their Captain's Health.

These Men belong'd to a Pirate Ship, call'd the *Resolution*, formerly the *Mocco* Merchant, whereof one Captain *Culliford* was Commander, and which lay at an Anchor not far from them; *Kid* went on Board with them, promising them his Friendship and Assistance, and *Culliford* in his Turn came on Board of *Kid*; and *Kid* to testify his Sincerity in Iniquity, finding *Culliford* in want of some Necessaries, made him a Present of an Anchor and some Guns, to fit him out for the Sea again.

The *Adventure* Galley was now so old and leaky, that they were forced to keep two Pumps continually going, wherefore *Kid* shifted all the Guns and Tackle out of her into the *Queda* Merchant, intending her for his Man of War; and as he had divided the Money before, he now made a Division of the Remainder of the Cargo: Soon after which, the greatest Part of the Company left him, some going on Board Captain *Culliford*, and others absconding in the Country, so that he had not above forty Men left.

He put to Sea and happened to touch at *Amboyna*, one of the *Dutch* Spice Islands, where he was told, that the News of his Actions had reach'd *England*, and that he was there declared a Pirate.

The Truth on't is, his Pyracies so alarmed our Merchants, that some Motions were made in Parliament, to enquire into the Commission that was given him,

and the Persons who fitted him out: These Proceedings seem'd to lean a little hard upon the Lord *Bellamont*, who thought himself so much touch'd thereby, that he published a Justification of himself in a Pamphlet after *Kid's* Execution. In the mean Time, it was thought adviseable, in order to stop the Course of these Pyracies, to publish a Proclamation, offering the King's free Pardon to all such Pyrates as should voluntarily surrender themselves, whatever Pyracies they had been guilty of at any Time, before the last Day of *April*, 1699.—That is to say, for all Pyracies committed Eastward of the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the Longitude and Meridian of *Socatora*, and *Cape Camorin*. In which Proclamation, *Avery* and *Kid* were excepted by Name.

When *Kid* left *Amboyne* he knew nothing of this Proclamation, for certainly had he had Notice of his being excepted in it, he would not have been so infatuated, to run himself into the very Jaws of Danger; but relying upon his Interest with the Lord *Bellamont*, and fancying, that a *French* Pass or two he found on Board some of the Ships he took, would serve to countenance the Matter, and that Part of the Booty he got would gain him new Friends.—I say, all these Things made him flatter himself that all would be hushed, and that Justice would but wink at him.—Wherefore he sail'd directly for *New-York*, where he was no sooner arrived, but by the Lord *Bellamont's* Orders, he was secured with all his Papers and Effects. Many of his Fellow-Adventurers who had forsook him at *Madagascar*, came over from thence Passengers, some to *New England* and some to *Jersey*; where hearing of the King's Proclamation for pardoning of Pyrates, they surrendered themselves to the Governor of those Places: At first they were admitted to Bail, but soon after were laid in strict Confinement where they were kept for some time, till an Opportunity happened of sending them with their Captain over to *England* to be tried.

Accordingly a Sessions of Admiralty being held at the *Old Baily*, in *May* 1701, Captain *Kid*, *Nicholas Churchill*, *James How*, *Robert Lumley*, *William Jenkins*, *Gabriel Loff*, *Hugh Parrot*, *Richard Barlicorn*, *Abel Owens*, and *Darby Mullins*, were arraign'd for Piracy and Robbery on the High Seas, and all found guilty, except three; these were *Robert Lumley*, *William Jenkins*, and *Richard Barlicorne*, who proving themselves to be Apprentices to some of the Officers of the Ship, and producing their Indentures in Court, were acquitted.

The three above-mentioned, tho' they were proved to be concern'd in taking and sharing the Ship and Goods mentioned in the Indictment, yet, as the Gentlemen of the long Robe rightly distinguished, there was a great Difference between their Circumstances and the rest; for there must go an Intention of the Mind and a Freedom of the Will to the committing an Act of Felony or Piracy. A Pirate is not to be understood to be under Constraint, but a free Agent; for in

this Case, the bare Act will not make a Man guilty, unless the Will make it so.

Now a Servant, it is true, if he go voluntarily and have his Proportion, he must be accounted a Pyrate, for then he acts upon his own Account, and not by Compulsion; and these Persons, according to the Evidence, received their Part, but whether they accounted to their Masters for their Shares afterwards, is the Matter in Question, and what distinguishes them as free Agents or Men, that did go under the Compulsion of their Masters, which being left to the Consideration of the Jury, they found them Not Guilty.

Kid was tryed upon an Indictment of Murder also, viz. for killing *Moor* the Gunner, and found guilty of the same. *Nicholas Churchill* and *James How* pleaded the King's Pardon, as having surrendered themselves within the Time limited in the Proclamation, and Colonel *Bass*, Governor of *West Jersey*, to whom they surrendered, being in Court, and called upon, proved the same; however, this Plea was over-ruled by the Court, because there being four Commissioners named in the Proclamation, viz. Captain *Thomas Warren*, *Israel Hayes*, *Peter Delannoye*, and *Christopher Pollard*, Esqrs; who were appointed Commissioners, and sent over on Purpose to receive the Submissions of such Pyrates as should surrender, it was adjudged no other Person was qualified to receive their Surrender, and that they could not be intitled to the Benefit of the said Proclamation, because they had not in all Circumstances complied with the Conditions of it.

Darby Mullins urg'd in his Defence, that he serv'd under the King's Commission, and therefore could not disobey his Commander without incurring great Punishments; that whenever a Ship or Ships went out upon any Expedition under the King's Commissioners, the Men were never allowed to call their Officers to an Account, why they did this, or, why they did that, because such a Liberty would destroy all Discipline; that if any Thing was done which was unlawful, the Officers were to answer it, for the Men did no more than their Duty in obeying Orders. He was told by the Court, that acting under the Commission justified in what was lawful, but not in what was unlawful; he answered, he stood in Need of nothing to justify him in what was lawful, but that the Case of Seamen must be very hard, if they must be brought into such Danger for obeying the Commands of their Officers, and punished for not obeying them; and if they were allowed to dispute the Orders, there could be no such Thing as Command kept up at Sea.

This seem'd to be the best Defence the Thing could bear; but his taking a Share of the Plunder, the Seamens mutinying on Board several Times, and taking upon them to controul the Captain, shewed there was no Obedience paid to the Commission; and that they acted in all Things according to the Custom of

Pirates and Free-booters, which weighing with the Jury, they brought him in guilty with the rest.

As to Capt. *Kid*'s Defence, he insisted much upon his own Innocence, and the Villany of his Men; he said, he went out in a laudable Employment, and had no Occasion, being then in good Circumstances, to go a Pyrating; that the Men often mutinied against him, and did as they pleas'd; that he was threatened to be shot in his Cabin, and that Ninety five left him at one Time, and set Fire to his Boat, so that he was disabled from bringing his Ship home, or the Prizes he took, to have them regularly condemn'd, which he said were taken by Virtue of a Commission under the Broad Seal, they having *French Passes*.—The Captain called one Col. *Hewson* to his Reputation, who gave him an extraordinary Character, and declared to the Court, that he had served under his Command, and been in two Engagements with him against the *French*, in which he fought as well as any Man he ever saw; that there were only *Kid*'s Ship and his own against Monsieur *du Cass*, who commanded a Squadron of six Sail, and they got the better of him.—But this being several Years before the Facts mentioned in the Indictment were committed, prov'd of no manner of Service to the Prisoner on his Tryal.

As to the Friendship shewn to *Culliford*, a notorious Pirate, *Kid* deny'd, and said, he intended to have taken him, but his Men being a Parcel of Rogues and Villains refused to stand by him, and several of them ran away from his Ship to the said Pirate.—But the Evidence being full and particular against him, he was found guilty as before mentioned.

When *Kid* was asked what he had to say why Sentence should not pass against him, he answered, That *he had nothing to say, but that he had been sworn against by perjured wicked People*. And when Sentence was pronounced, he said, *My Lord, it is a very hard Sentence. For my Part, I am the innocentest Person of them all, only I have been sworn against by perjured Persons*.

Wherefore about a Week after, Capt. *Kid*, *Nicholas Churchill*, *James How*, *Gabriel Loff*, *Hugh Parrot*, *Abel Owen*, and *Darby Mullins*, were executed at *Execution Dock*, and afterwards hung up in Chains, at some Distance from each other, down the River, where their Bodies hung exposed for many Years.



OF
Captain *TEW*,
And his CREW.

Before I enter on the Adventures of this Pyrate, I must take Notice to the Reader of the Reasons which made me not continue the Life of *Misson*.

In reading the Notes, which I have by me, relating to Captain *Tew*, I found him join'd with *Misson*; and that I must either be guilty of Repetition, or give an Account of *Tew* in *Misson*'s Life, which is contrary to the Method I propos'd, that of giving a distinct Relation of every Pyrate who has made any Figure: And surely *Tew*, in Point of Gallantry, was inferior to none, and may justly claim a particular Account of his Actions.

However, before I enter on the Life of this Pyrate, I shall continue that of *Misson* to the Time that these two Commanders met.

The Blacks seeing them so much upon their Guard, brought out boiled Rice and Fowls, and after they had satisfied their Hunger, the Chief made Signs that they were the same who had carried a Negroe to their Ships, and sent for the Ax and Piece of Baze they had given him: While this pass'd, the very Negroe came from hunting, who seem'd overjoy'd to see them. The Chief made Signs that they might return, and ten Negroes coming to them laden with Fowls and Kids; he gave them to understand, they should accompany them to their Ships with these Presents.

They parted very amicably, and in hopes of settling a good Correspondence with these Natives; all the Houses were neatly framed and jointed, not built from any Foundation, but so made, that half a dozen Men could lift and transport them from Place to Place; and sometimes a whole Village shall be in Motion, which would be an odd Sight in *Europe*, and surprizing to see Houses moving. The Hunters returning to their Ships, with these Presents and Negroes, were joyfully received; and the Negroes not only caressed, but laden with Baze, Iron Kettles,

and Rum, besides the Present of a Cutlash for the Chief.

While the Negroes stay'd, which was the Space of three Days, they examined and admired the Forts and growing Town, in which all Hands were busied, and not even the Prisoners excused.

As Monsieur *Misson* apprehended no Danger from the Land, his Fort (tho' of Wood) being, he thought, a sufficient Defence to his infant Colony; he took a hundred and sixty Hands, and went a second Time on the Coast of *Zanguebor*, and off *Quiloa* he gave Chase to a large Ship, which lay by for him: She prov'd an over-match for the *Victoire*, which engag'd her, with great Loss of Men, near eight Glasses; but finding he was more likely to be took, than to make a Prize, by the Advice of his Officers and Men, endeavour'd to leave the *Portuguese*, which was a 50 Gun Ship, and had 300 Men on Board; but he found this Attempt vain, for the *Portuguese* went as well as the *Victoire*, and the Commander was a resolute and brave Man, who, seeing him endeavour to shake him off, clapp'd him on Board, but lost most of the Men he enter'd. *Misson's* Crew not used to be attack'd, and expecting no Quarter, fought so desperately, that they not thoroly clear'd their Decks, but some of them follow'd the *Portuguese*, who leap'd into their own Ship; which *Misson* seeing, hop'd to make an Advantage of their Despair, and crying out, *Elle est a nous, a l'abordage*. She's our own, board, board her, so many of his Men followed the few, that hardly were there enough left to work the Ship; *Misson* observing this Resolution in his Men, grappled the *Portuguese* Ship, and leap'd himself on Board, crying out, *la Mort, ou la Victoire*, Death or Victory. The *Portuguese*, who thought themselves in a manner Conquerors, seeing the Enemy not only drive off those who enter'd them, but board with that Resolution, began to quit the Decks in Spight of their Officers: The Captain and *Misson* met, as he was endeavouring to hinder the Flight of his Men; they engaged with equal Bravery with their Cutlashes; but *Misson* striking him on the Neck, he fell down the main Hatch, which put an End to the Fight, for the *Portuguese* seeing their Captain fall, threw down their Arms, and call'd for Quarters, which was granted; and all the Prisoners without Distinction being order'd between Decks, and the Powder-Room secured, he put 35 Men on Board the Prize, and made the best of his Way for *Libertatia*. This was the dearest Prize he ever made, for he lost fifty six Men: She was vastly rich in Gold, having near 200,000 l. Sterling on Board, being her own and the Cargo of her Companion, which was lost upon the Coast, of whose Crew she had saved 100 Men out of 120, the rest being lost, by endeavouring to swim ashore; whereas had their Fear suffer'd them to have staid, there had not been a Soul lost, the Tide of Ebb leaving their Ship dry: This was the Reason that the Prize was so well mann'd, and proved so considerable.

Being within Sight of *Madagascar*, they spied a Sloop which stood for them, and when in Gun-Shot, threw out black Colours, and fired a Gun to Windward; *Misson* brought to, fired another to Leeward, and hoisted out his Boat, which the Sloop perceiving, lay by for. *Misson's* Lieutenant went on Board, and was received very civilly by Captain *Tew*, who was the Commander, to whom the Lieutenant gave a short Account of their Adventures and new Settlement, inviting him very kindly on Board Captain *Misson*. *Tew* told him, he could not consent to go with him till he had the Opinion of his Men; in the mean while *Misson*, coming along-side, hal'd the Sloop, and invited the Captain on Board, desiring his Lieutenant would stay as an Hostage, if they were in the least jealous of him; which they had no Reason to be, since he was of Force so much superior, that he need not employ Stratagem. This determined the Company on Board the Sloop, who advised their Captain to go with the Lieutenant, whom they would not suffer to stay behind, to shew the greater Confidence in their new Friends.

My Reader may be surprized that a single Sloop should venture to give Chase to two Ships of such Countenance as were the *Victoire* and her Prize: But this Wonder will cease, when he is acquainted with the Sequel.

Captain *Tew* after being handsomely regal'd on Board the *Victoire*, and thoroughly satisfied, returned on Board his Sloop, gave an Account of what he had learned, and his Men consenting, he gave Orders to steer the same Course with *Misson*, whose Settlement it was agreed to visit.

I shall here leave them to give an Account of Captain *Tew*.

Mr. *Richier*, Governor of *Bermudas*, fitted out two Sloops on the Privateer Account, commanded by Captain *George Drew*, and Captain *Thomas Tew*, with Instructions to make the best of their Way to the River *Gambia* in *Africa*, and there, with the Advice and Assistance of the Agent for the Royal *African* Company, to attempt the taking the *French* Factory of *Goorie* on that Coast.

The above Commanders having their Commissions and Instructions from the Governor, took their Departure from *Bermudas*, and kept Company some Time; but *Drew* springing his Mast, and a violent Storm coming upon them, they lost each other.

Tew being separated from his Consort, thought of providing for his future case, by making one bold Push; and accordingly, calling all Hands on Deck, he spoke to them to this Purpose.

'That they were not ignorant of the Design with which the Governor fitted them out; the taking and destroying the *French* Factory; that he, indeed, readily agreed to take a Commission to this end, tho' contrary to his Judgment, because it was being employ'd; but that he thought it a very injudicious Expedition,

which did they succeed in, would be of no Use to the Publick, and only advantage a private Company of Men, from whom they could expect no Reward of their Bravery; that he could see nothing but Danger in the Undertaking, without the least Prospect of a Booty; that he could not suppose any Man fond of fighting, for fighting-sake; and few ventured their Lives, but with some View either of particular Interest or publick Good; but here was not the least Appearance of either. Wherefore, he was of Opinion, that they should turn their Thoughts on what might better their Circumstances; and if they were so inclined, he would undertake to shape a Course which should lead them to Ease and Plenty, in which they might pass the rest of their Days. That one bold Push would do their Business, and they might return home, not only without Danger, but even with Reputation.' The Crew finding he expected their Resolution, cry'd out, one and all, *A gold Chain, or a wooden Leg*, we'll stand by you.

Hearing this, he desired they would chuse a Quarter Master, who might consult with him for the Common Good; which was accordingly done.

I must acquaint the Reader, that on Board the *West-India* Privateers and Freebooters, the Quarter Master's Opinion is like the Mufti's among the *Turk's*; the Captain can undertake nothing which the Quarter Master does not approve. We may say, the Quarter Master is an humble Imitation of the *Roman* Tribune of the People; he speaks for, and looks after the Interest of the Crew.

Tew now, instead of his proceeding on his Voyage to *Gambia*, shaped his Course for the Cape of *Good Hope*, which doubling, he steered for the Streights of *Babel Mandel*, entring into the *Red Sea*, where they came up with a tall Ship bound from the *Indies* to *Arabia*; she was richly laden, and as she was to clear the Coasts of Rovers, five more, extreamly rich (one especially in Gold) being to follow her, she had 300 Soldiers on Board, beside her Seamen.

Tew, on making this Ship, told his Men she carried their Fortunes, which they would find no Difficulty to take Possession of; for though he was satisfied she was full of Men, and was mounted with a great Number of Guns, they wanted the two Things necessary, Skill and Courage; and, indeed, so it proved, for he boarded and carried her without Loss, every one taking more Care to run from the Danger, than to exert himself in the Defence of his Goods.

In rummaging this Prize, the Pyrates threw over a great many rich Bales, to search for Gold, Silver, and Jewels; and, having taken what they thought proper, together with the Powder, part of which (as being more than they could handsomely stow) they threw into the Sea; they left her, sharing 3000 l. Sterling a Man.

Encouraged by this Success, Captain *Tew* proposed the going in quest of the other five Ships, of which he had Intelligence from the Prize; but the Quarter-

Master opposing him, he was obliged to drop the Design, and steer for *Madagascar*.

Here the Quarter Master finding this Island productive of all the Necessaries of Life; that the Air was wholesome, the Soil fruitful, and the Sea abounding with Fish, proposed settling; but only three and twenty of the Crew came into the Proposal: The rest staid with Captain *Tew*, who having given the new Settlers their Share of Plunder, designed to return to *America*, as they afterwards did; but spying the *Victoire* and her Prize, he thought he might, by their Means, return somewhat richer, and resolved to speak with them, as I have already said.

Tew and his Company having taken the above Resolution of visiting Mons. *Misson*'s Colony, arrived with him, and was not a little surprized to see his Fortifications.

When they came under the first Fort, they saluted it with nine Guns, and they were answered with an equal Number; all the Prisoners, at their coming to an Anchor, were suffer'd to come up, a Privilege they had never before granted them, on account of the few Hands left them, except two or three at a time.

The Joy those ashore expressed at the Sight of so considerable a Prize as they judged her at first Sight, was vastly allay'd, when they heard how dear a Purchase she had prov'd to them; however, the Reinforcement of the Sloop made some amends; Captain *Tew* was received by *Caraccioli* and the rest, with great Civility and Respect, who did not a little admire his Courage, both in attacking the Prize he made, and afterwards in giving Chase to *Misson*; he was called to the Council of Officers, which was immediately held, to consider what Methods should be taken with the Prisoners, who were, by 190 brought in by this new Prize, near as numerous as those of his own Party, though *Tew* join them with 70 Men; it was therefore resolved to keep them separate from the *Portuguese* and *English*, who were before taken, to make them believe they were in Amity with a Prince of the Natives, who was very powerful, and to propose to them, at their Choice, the assisting the new Colony in their Works, or the being sent Prisoners up the Country, if they rejected the entering with them. Seventy three took on, and the rest desired they might be any way employ'd, rather than be sent up the Country; 117 then were set to Work upon a Dock, which was laid out about half a Mile above the Mouth of the Harbour, and the other Prisoners were forbid to pass such Bounds as were prescribed them on Pain of Death; lest they, knowing their own Strength, should revolt; for I must acquaint the Reader, that on the Arrival of the *Victoire*, both their Loss and the Number of *Portuguese* they brought in, was known to none but themselves, and the Number of those who came over, magnified; besides, the *Johanna* Men were all arm'd and disciplin'd, and the *Bijoux* laid a Guardship, where the last Prisoners were set to

Work; but while they provided for their Security, both within and without, they did not neglect providing also for their Support, for they dug and sow'd a large Plat of Ground with *Indian* and *European* Corn, and other Seeds which they had found on Board their Prizes. In the mean while *Caraccioli*, who had the Art of Perswasion, wrought on many of the *Portuguese*, who saw no Hopes of returning home, to join them. *Misson*, who could not be easy in an inactive Life, would have taken another Cruize; but fearing the Revolt of the Prisoners, durst not weaken his Colony by the Hands he must necessarily take with him: Wherefore, he propos'd giving the last Prize to, and sending away the Prisoners. *Carracioli* and Captain *Tew* were against it, saying, that it would discover their Retreat, and cause their being attacked by the *Europeans*, who had Settlements along the Continent, before they were able to defend themselves. *Misson* reply'd, he could not bear to be always diffident of those about him; that it was better die once, than live in continual Apprehensions of Death. That the Time was come for the sending away the *Johanna* Men, and that they could not go without a Ship, neither durst he trust a Ship out, not well mann'd, nor man her while so many Prisoners were with him. Wherefore there was a Necessity of sending them off, or of putting them all to the Sword. A Barbarity by which he would not purchase his Security. A Council was called, and what Captain *Misson* had proposed, agreed to. The Prisoners were then summon'd and he told them, in few Words, that he knew the Consequence of giving them Liberty; that he expected to be attacked as soon as the Place of his Retreat was known, and had it in his Hands, by putting them to Death to avoid the doubtful Fate of War; but his Humanity would not suffer him to entertain a Thought so cruel, and his Alliances with the Natives, he hoped, would enable him to repel his Assailants; but he required an Oath of every one, that he should not serve against him: He then enquired into the Circumstances of every particular Man, and what they had lost, all which he return'd, telling the Company it should be reckoned as Part of his Share, and the Prisoners, that he did not make War with the Oppressed, but the Oppressors. The Prisoners were charm'd with this Mark of Generosity and Humanity, and wished he might never meet a Treatment unworthy of that he gave them. The Ship being victualled for a Voyage to the Coast of *Zanguebar*, all her Guns and Ammunitions taken out, with the spare Sails, and spare Rigging, all were ordered to be gone, and 137 departed, highly applauding the Behaviour of their Enemies. All this while they had heard nothing from the Natives, nor had the hunting Parties met with any of them, which made *Misson* suspect they were afraid of his being their Neighbour, and had shifted their Quarters; but as the *Johanna* Men were upon going away, there came about 50 Negroes to them, driving about 100 Head of black Cattle, 20 Negroe Men bound,

and 25 Women, for which Cattle and Prisoners they barter'd Rum, Hatchets, Baze and Beads; some Hogsheads of which last Commodity they had taken on the Coast of *Angola*. Here the Negroes belonging to *Misson* were provided with Wives: The Natives were caress'd, and to the Slaves Signs made that their Liberty was given them, they were immediately cloathed and put under the Care of as many Whites, who, by all possible Demonstrations, endeavoured to make them understand that they were Enemies to Slavery. The Natives staid ten Days, which retarded the Departure of the *Johanna* Men; but, upon their retiring, the *Bijoux* sailed with 100 of them on Board, under the command of *Caraccioli's* Lieutenant, who excused the keeping them a Month longer than was promised, and not bringing them at once, having no more than two Ships. The *Portuguese* Ship, which was unrigg'd, being made a Hulk, the ten Men of *Misson's* Company who had settled at *Johanna*, being desirous to return, were brought to *Libertatia* with their Wives (of which they had two and three a piece) and their Children, the *Bijoux*, at two more Voyages, carried over the rest of the *Johannians*.

Misson hove down the *Bijoux*, and resolving on a Cruise on the Coast of *Guiney*, to strengthen his Colony by the Capture of some slaving Ship, he gave the Command of her to Captain *Tew*, and he and *Caraccioli* press'd the Work of the Dock; he gave him also 200 Hands, of which 40 were *Portuguese*, 37 Negroes, 17 of them expert Sailors, 30 *English*, and the rest *French*. *Tew* met with nothing in his Way till he came to the Northward of the Cape of *Good Hope*, when he fell in with a *Dutch East-India* Galley of 18 Guns, which he took after a small Resistance, and with the Loss of one Man only; on the Coast of *Angola* he took an *English* Man with 240 Slaves, Men, Women, and Boys. The Negroes, who had before been taken on this Coast, found among these a great many of their Acquaintance, and several of their Relations, to whom they reported their happy and unexpected change of Fortune, the great Captain (for so they now called *Misson*) humanly having knocked off their Chains, and of Slaves made them free Men, and Sharers in his Fortunes. That the same good Fortune had attended them in their falling into his Hands, for he abhorr'd even the Name of Slavery. *Tew* following the Orders, and acquainted with the Policy of *Misson*, order'd their Fetters and Handcuffs to be taken off, upon his *Negro* Sailors, assuring him they would not revolt, and were sensible of their Happiness in falling into his Hands. Content with these Prizes, he made the best of his Way home to *Libertatia*, where he arrived without any sinister Accident; but I forgot to tell my Reader, that he set his *Dutch* Prisoners (nine excepted, who took on with him) ashore, about 30 Miles to the Northward of the Cape, in *Soldinia* Bay, where had been buried, by Captain *Misson*, the *English* Commander; he found a

great Quantity of *English* Crowns on Board his *Dutch* Prize, which were carried into the common Treasury, Money being of no Use where every Thing was in common, and no Hedge bounded any particular Man's Property. The Slaves he had released in this last Cruize were employ'd in the perfecting the Dock, and treated on the Foot of free People. They were not ignorant of the Change of their Condition, and were therefore extreamly diligent and faithful. A White Man, or one of the old standing Negroes, wrought with every four, and made them understand the *French* Words (by often Repetition, and the Help of their Country Mens interpreting) used in their Works. *Misson* ordered a couple of Sloops to be built in a Creek, of 80 Tun each, which he mounted with 8 Guns a piece, out of the *Dutch* Prize. These were perfected in a little Time, and proved not only shapely Vessels, but excellent Sailors. The Officers of these Sloops were chosen by balloting, and as their first Design was only to discover and lay down a Chart of the Coast, Sands, Shoals, and Depths of Water round the Island of *Madagascar*; The School Master being sent for that Reason with the Command of one, *Tew* desired, and had the other. They were mann'd, each Sloop with 50 Whites and 50 black Men. Which Voyage round the Island was of vast Advantage in giving the new released *Angola* Negroes a Notion of the working a Vessel; and they were very industrious both in endeavouring to learn the *French* Language, and to be useful. These Sloops, the one of which was called the *Childhood*, and the other the *Liberty*, were near four Months on this Expedition; in the mean while a few of the Natives had come often to the Settlement, and they began to speak a little broken *French*, mix'd with the other *European* Languages, which they heard among *Misson*'s People, and six of the native Families fixed among them, which was of vast Use to the Planters of this new Colony; for they made a very advantageous Report to their Country Men of the Regularity and Harmony they observed in them. The Sloops being return'd, and an exact Chart taken of the Coast, *Carraccioli* had a mind for a Cruize; he proposed the visiting all the neighbouring Islands, accordingly he went out to *Mascarenas*, and the other Islands near it, taking one half of his Crew of Negroes, and return'd with a *Dutch* Prize, which he took off the abovementioned Island, where they were about fixing a Colony. This Prize, as it had on Board all Sorts of *European* Goods, and Necessaries for settling, was more valuable than if it had been vastly richer. The Negroes growing useful Hands, *Misson* resolved on a Cruize to the Northward, encouraged by *Tew*'s Success; and, with all the Blacks, which he divided between the two Ships, one of which Captain *Tew* commanded, set out with 500 Men: Off the Coast of *Arabia Fælix*, they fell in with a Ship belonging to the *Great Mogul*, bound for *Zidon*, with Pilgrims to *Mecca*, who, with *Moor* Mariners, made up the Number of 1600 Souls. This

Ship carried 110 Guns, but made a very poor Defence, being encumber'd with the Goods and Number of Passengers they carried. The two Adventurers did not think it their Business to cannonade, they therefore boarded as soon as they came up with her, and the *Moors* no sooner saw them enter'd, but they discharged one Volley of small Arms at Random, we may suppose, because no Execution was done, and fled the Decks. Being Masters of this Ship, which did not cost them a single Man, they consulted what they should do with her, and the Prisoners, and it was resolved to set them ashore between *Ain* and *Aden*; but as they wanted Women, to keep all the unmarried, and to navigate the Ship to *Libertatia*; as the Guns might be of Use to them; and, by letting her go, or sinking, they might lose, perhaps, a considerable Booty, which the *Moors*, might have hid in her Cielings or Ballast.

This Resolution was put in Execution, and they brought off 100 Girls, from 12 to 18 Years old, who designed to make the Pilgrimage with their Parents. The Lamentations this Separation caused among the Prisoners, had such Effect on *Misson*, that he was for letting them go, but every one of his Men were against him. They now made the best of their Way for *Madagascar*, putting 200 Hands on board the Prize, which proved a very heavy Sailer, and retarded them very much. Off the Cape *Guarde Fin* they were overtaken with a cruel Storm, which was very near wrecking them on the Island called *Irmanos*; but the Wind coming about due North, they had the good Luck to escape this Danger. Though the Fury of the Wind abated, yet it blew so hard for 12 Days together, that they could only carry their Courses reef'd. They spy'd a Sail in their Passage, but the Weather would not permit their endeavouring to speak with her. In a Word, they return'd to *Libertatia* with their Prize, without any other Accident, but the Captors could make no Estimate of her Value, she having on Board a vast Quantity of Diamonds, besides rich Silks, raw Silks, Spices, Carpets, and wrought and bar Gold. The Prize was taken to pieces, as she was of no Use; her Cordage and knee Timber preserv'd, with all the Bolts, Eyes, Chains, and other Iron Work, and her Guns planted on two Points of the Harbour, where they raised Batteries, so that they were now so strongly fortified they apprehended no Danger from any Number of Shipping which could be brought into those Seas to attack them. They had, by this Time, clear'd, sown, and enclosed a good Parcel of Ground, and taken in a Quantity of Pasturage, where they had above 300 Head of black Cattle, bought of the Natives. The Dock was now finish'd, and the *Victoire* growing old and unfit for a long Voyage, and the last Storm having shook and loosened her very much, she was pull'd to pieces and rebuilt, keeping the same Name. She was rigg'd, victuall'd, and fit to go to Sea, and was to sail to the Coast of *Guinea* for more Negroes, when one of the Sloops came in, which had

been sent out rather to exercise the Negroes, than with any View of making a Prize, and brought Word five tall Ships chac'd her into the Bay, and stood for their Harbour; that she judg'd them to be *Portuguese* by their Built, and 50 Gun Ships, full of Men. This prov'd the real Truth. The Alarm was given, the Forts and Batteries mann'd, and every Man stood to his Arms. *Misson* took upon him the Command of 100 Negroes, who were well disciplin'd, (for every Morning they had been used to perform their Exercise, which was taught them by a *French* Serjeant, one of their Company, who belong'd to the *Victoire*) to be ready where his Assistance should be requir'd. *Tew* commanded all the *English*. They had hardly order'd their Affairs when these Ships hove in Sight, and stood directly for the Harbour with *Portuguese* Colours. They were warmly received by the two Forts, which did not stop them, though it brought one of them on the Caren; they enter'd the Harbour, and thought they had done their Business, but were saluted so warmly from the Forts and Batteries, Sloops and Ships, that two of them sunk downright, and a great many Men were drowned, though some got on Board the other Ships. The *Portuguese*, who did not imagine they had been so well fortified, and thought in passing the two Forts they should, without Difficulty, land their Men, and easily root out this Nest of Pyrates, found now their Mistake, for they durst not venture to hoist out a Boat. They had wisely, however, contriv'd to enter just before the Turn of the Tide. Finding the Attempt vain, and that they lost a great many Men, they clapp'd upon a Wind, and with the Help of the Tide of Ebb, made more Haste out than they did to get in, leaving two of their Ships sunk in the Harbour; but they did not get off so cheaply, for no sooner were they clear of the Forts, but *Misson* manning, with the utmost Expedition, both the Ships and the Sloops, he gave them Chase, and engag'd them at the Mouth of the Bay. The *Portuguese* defended themselves with a great deal of Gallantry, and one of them put off the *Libertatians* twice, who boarded them from the two Sloops; two of them, finding themselves hard press'd, made a running Fight, and got off, and left the third to shift as well as he could. The *Bijoux* and *Victoire* finding the *Portuguese* endeavour'd to clear themselves, and knowing there was little to be got by the Captures, gave over the Chase, and fell upon the third, who defended himself till his Decks swam with Blood, and the greater Number of his Men killed; but finding all Resistance vain, and that he was left to an unequal Fight by his Companions, he called for Quarter, and good Quarter was given, both to himself and Men. This Prize yielded them a great Quantity of Powder and Shot, and, indeed, they expected nothing of Value out of her. None of the Prisoners were stripp'd, and the Officers, *Misson*, *Caraccioli* and *Tew*, invited to their Tables, treating them very civilly, and extolling the Courage they had shewn in their Defence. Unhappily two Prisoners were found

on Board, who had been released, and had sworn never to serve against them; these were clapp'd in Irons, and publickly tried for their Perjury. The *Portuguese* Officers being present, the Witnesses proved them the very discharged Men, and they were condemned to be hanged at the Point of each Fort; which Execution was performed the next Morning after their Condemnation, with the Assistance of the *Portuguese* Chaplain, who attended, confess'd and absolv'd them. This was the Engagement with the Pyrates, which made so much Noise in the *Lisbon Gazette*, and these the Men whom the *English* ignorantly took for *Avery*; who, we had a Notion here in *London*, had 32 Sail of Men of War, and had taken upon him the State and Title of King, a Mistake we have already spoken to in the first Volume.

This Execution seeming to impugn the Maxims of the Chiefs, *Caraccioli* made an Harangue, in which he told them, that there was no Rule could be laid down which did not allow Exceptions: That they were all sensible how tender the Commadore, Monsieur *Misson*, was in shedding of Blood; and that it was a Tenet of his Faith, that none had Power over the Life of another, but God alone, who gave it; but notwithstanding, Self-Preservation sometimes made it absolutely necessary to take away the Life of another, especially an avow'd and an obliged Enemy, even in cool Blood. As to the Blood shed in a lawful War, in Defence of that Liberty they had generously asserted, it was needless to say any Thing, but thought it proper to lay before them Reasons for the Execution of the Criminals, and the Heinousness of their Crimes. They had not only received their Lives from the Bounty of the *Libertatians*, but their Liberty, and had every Thing restored them which they laid claim to, consequently their Ingratitude rose in Proportion to the generous Treatment they had met with. That, indeed, both he and Captain *Misson* would have passed by the Perjury and Ingratitude they had been guilty of, with a corporal Punishment, which had not extended to the Deprivation of Life, but their gallant Friend and Companion the *English* Commander, Captain *Tew*, used such cogent Reasons for an exemplary Punishment, to deter others from the like Crimes, that they must have been Enemies to their own Preservation in not following his Advice. That the Lives of their whole Body ought to be preferr'd to those of declared and perjured Enemies, who would not cease to endeavour their Ruin; and, as they were well acquainted with their Settlement, might be fatal Instruments of it, if they were again restored to that Liberty which they had already abused. That he was obliged to do Captain *Tew* the Justice, to acknowledge he was inclined to the Side of Mercy, till he was thoroughly informed of the Blackness of their Ingratitude, and then he thought it would be Cruelty to themselves to let those Miscreants experience a second Time their Clemency; thus an absolute

Necessity had obliged them to act contrary to their declar'd Principles; tho', to state the Case rightly, these Men, not the *Libertatians*, were the Authors of their own Deaths: Here the Assembly crying out, *their Blood is on their own Heads, they sought their Deaths, and hanging was too good for them*; *Caraccioli* gave over, and every one returned satisfied to his private or the publick Affairs.

Some Differences arising between *Misson's* and *Tew's* Men, on a national Quarrel, which the latter began; Captain *Tew* proposed their deciding the Quarrel by the Sword, but *Caraccioli* was entirely against it, alledging, that such a Decision must necessarily be a Damage to the Publick, since the brave Men who fell, would be a weakening of their Colony; he therefore desired Captain *Tew* to interpose the Authority he had over his Crew, as he and *Misson* would endeavour to bring their Men to an amicable Agreement; and for the future, as this Accident proved the Necessity, wholesome Laws should be made, and a Form of Government entered upon, both Parties were call'd, and *Caraccioli* shew'd them the Necessity of their living in Unity among themselves, who had the whole World for Enemies; and as he had a perswasive and insinuating Way of Argument, with the Assistance of Captain *Tew*, this Affair was ended to the Satisfaction of both Parties.

The next Day the whole Colony was assembled, and the three Commanders propos'd a Form of Government, being taken up, as necessary to their Conservation; for where there were no coercive Laws, the weakest would always be the Sufferers, and every Thing must tend to Confusion: That Mens Passions blinding them to Justice, and making them ever partial to themselves, they ought to submit the Differences which might arise to calm and disinterested Persons, who could examine with Temper, and determine according to Reason and Equity: That they look'd upon a Democratical Form, where the People were themselves the Makers and Judges of their own Laws, the most agreeable; and therefore, desired they would divide themselves into Companies of ten Men, and every such Company chuse one to assist in the settling a Form of Government, and in making wholesome Laws for the Good of the whole: That the Treasure and Cattle they were Masters of should be equally divided, and such Lands as any particular Man would enclose, should, for the future, be deem'd his Property, which no other should lay any Claim to, if not alienated by a Sale.

The Proposal was received with Applause, and they decimated themselves that very Day, but put off the meeting of the States till a House was built, which they set about very chearfully, and finish'd in about a Fortnight; it being of framed Timber, and they having among them a great many who understood the handling an Ax.

When this Body of Politicians met, *Caraccioli* open'd the Sessions with a

handsome Speech, shewing the Advantage flowing from Order; and then spoke to the Necessity of lodging a supream Power in the Hands of one, who should have that of rewarding brave and vertuous Actions, and of punishing the vicious, according to the Laws which the State should make; by which, he was to be guided. That such a Power however should not be for Life, nor hereditary, but determinate at the end of three Years, when a new Choice should be made by the State, or the Old confirm'd for three Years longer; by which means, the ablest Men would always be at the Head of Affairs, and their Power being of short Duration, none would dare to abuse it: That such a Chief should have the Title of Lord Conservator, and all the Ensins of Royalty to attend him.

This was approv'd *Nemine contradicente*, and *Misson* was chose Conservator, with Power to create great Officers, &c. and with the Title of Supream Excellence.

Then a Law was made for the meeting of the State once every Year at least, but oftner, if the Conservator and his Council thought it necessary for the common Good to convene them; and that nothing of Moment should be undertaken without the Approbation of the State.

In a Word, their first Sessions lasted ten Days; and a great many wholesome Laws were enacted, register'd in the State-Book, printed and dispers'd (for they had some Printers and Letter Founders among them) and then the Conservator dissolved them.

Captain *Tew*, the Conservator, honoured with the Title of Admiral, and *Caraccioli* made Secretary of State; he chose a Council of the ablest among them, without Distinction of Nation or Colour; and the different Languages began to be incorporated, and one made out of the many: An equal Division was made of their Treasure and Cattle, and every one began either to inclose Land for himself or his Neighbour, who would hire his Assistance.

Admiral *Tew* propos'd the building an Arsenal, and augmenting their Naval Force; the first was agreed to be propos'd to the State at the next Convention, but the latter was thought unnecessary, till the Number of Inhabitants was augmented; for should they all be employed in the Sea Service, the Husbandry would be neglected, which would be of fatal Consequence to the growing Colony.

The Admiral then proposed the fetching in those *Englishmen* who had followed the Quarter Master; but the Council rejected this, alledging, that as they deserted their Captain, it was a Mark of a mutinous Temper, and they might infect others with a Spirit of Disorder; that however, they might have Notice given them of the Settlement, and if they made it their earnest Intreaty to be admitted, and would desert the Quarter-Master, it should be granted as a

particular Favour done them, at the instance of the Admiral, and upon his engaging his Parole of Honour for their quiet Behaviour.

The Admiral then desired he might take a Cruise; that he hop'd to meet with some *East-India* Ships, and bring in some Voluntiers, for the Number of Subjects being the Riches of a Nation, he thought the Colony stood more in need of Men, than of any Thing else; that he would lie in the Way of the Cape, and did not question doing good Service; and as he went to the Northward, would call upon his own Men.

The *Victoire* was according to the Admiral's Desire fitted out, and in few Days he sail'd with 300 Men on board; he came to an Anchor at the Settlement his Men had made, and hoisted an *English* Ensign in his Fore Shrouds, and fir'd a Gun; but after he had waited some Time, perceiving no Signal from the Shore, he landed and sent back his Boat; soon after the Boat was returned towards the Ship, two of his Men came up to him, to whom he gave an Account of *Misson's* Settlement: They invited him into the Wood to see that of theirs, and to advise with their Companions, about the propos'd Migration. The Governor, *aliàs* Quarter-Master, received him mighty civilly, but told him, that he could see no Advantage to themselves in changing their present Situation, tho' they might prove a great One to the new Colony, by adding to their Force so many brave Fellows: That they there enjoy'd all the Necessaries of Life; were free and independent of all the World; and it would be Madness again to subject themselves to any Government, which, however mild, still exerted some Power. That he was Governor for three Months, by the Choice of his Companions; but his Power extended no farther than to the judging in Matters of small Difference which might arise, which he hop'd to do impartially while his Authority continued; that they had agreed among themselves, and confirm'd that Agreement by Oath, to support the Decrees of the Governor for the Time, that their Tranquillity might not be disturb'd by the capricious Humour of any one Man; and that this Power of determining, was to devolve at the Expiration of three Months, to him on whom the Lot should fall by balloting, provided he had not before enjoyed the Honour, for such a one was not to draw; by which Agreement, every one would be raised, in Time, to the supream Command, which prevented all canvassing and making Interest for Votes, as when it determined by Suffrage; left no Open for making Divisions and Parties, and was a Means to continue to them that Repose inseparable from a Unity among themselves. However, continu'd he, if you will go to *America* or *Europe*, and shew the Advantages which may accrue to the *English*, by fixing a Colony here, out of that Love we bear our Country, and to wipe away the odious Appellation of Pyrates, with Pleasure we'll submit to any who shall come with a Commission

from a lawful Government; but 'tis ridiculous to think we will become Subjects to greater Rogues than our selves; and that you may know what to say on this Head, if you think it expedient to follow my Advice, take with you some few Thoughts, which I have couch'd in Writing, and which I'll fetch you; he went into his Cabbin, for, tho' the Governor's, it did not deserve the Name of a House, brought out some written Papers, and gave them him.

Captain Tew finding the Quarter-Master spoke the Sentiments of his Companions, took Leave, and returned to his Ship.

When the Captain was in his Cabbin, he read the Quarter-Master's Papers, which, as the Contents of them may oblige the curious, I shall set down.

This Island of *Madagascar* affords all the Necessaries of Life, and yields to none either in the Wholesomeness of the Air, or Fruitfulness of the Soil: The Seas around it are well stor'd with Fish, the Woods with Fowl, and the Intrails of the Earth are enrich'd with Mines of excellent Iron, as I have learn'd from some Natives, by their having Arms of that Metal; and, doubtless there are here both Gold and Silver Mines in the Mountains.

The Soil will produce Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, and other Growths of our *American* Colonies, at a far inferior Expence, as I will make plain, by comparing the Charge of erecting a Mill, &c. in *Barbadoes*, with what it would be here.

A Windmill in *Barbadoes* will cost 100 l. all Materials and Labour being very dear; but here Wood and Stone may be had for Labour only; so that with Artificers, and the needful Iron and Copper Work brought from *Europe*, a Sugar Work may be set up for very little Money.

Negroes in *Barbadoes* are at 30, 40, 50 l. *per* Head; and I dare answer 10 s. in *European* Goods, will purchase a Negroe Slave at *Madagascar*, since we have purchas'd for an old Coat, a lusty Fellow.

Food is very dear at *Barbadoes*, and here you may feed a Slave, as well as your self without Expence; consequently he will do more Work than a *Barbadoes* Slave, who is, by the Dearness of Provision, half-starved.

Tho' a Cattle Mill is of less Expence in *Barbadoes*, yet the feeding of Horses and Oxen at *Barbadoes* is very dear.

But, to proceed to other Advantages, all Sorts of medicinal and dying Woods may be carried from hence to *Europe*; and your Woods for fine Works, as Iron, Wood, Cedar, Mahogany, &c. are here in great Abundance.

If a Colony, with a lawful Power, were settled here, no doubt, but many of the Commodities which we fetch from the *Indies* might be made here, as Silk, Cotton, &c. the Soil being proper for their Production.

The Natives are, or seem to be, very human; and they have such Plenty of black Cattle, that we have bought an Ox of 800 lb. Weight, for a Pair of

Breeches.

Besides, a Settlement here would be a Curb on Pyrates, and a Protection, as well as a great Conveniency to our *East India* Ships, who might here be stored with fresh or salt Provisions, and consequently not be obliged to carry with them so great a Quantity as they now do, and save a great Deal of Money to the Company in their Victualling.

Captain *Tew* went on Shore again in the Evening, the Wind not serving to weigh, it blowing due *West*; he asked the Governor, how he got acquainted with the Natives? and he answered, by meeting them a Hunting, and using them well; that he wheedled one of them down to their Huts, the Fellow being alone, and they three in Company, he suppos'd, thought it best to go with seeming Willingness. After him several came, and they liv'd very friendly with them: The Captain had brought ashore with him some Rum and Brandy, and they were drinking a Bowl of Punch, when, on a sudden, a violent Storm arose; Captain *Tew* ran to the Shore, and made a Signal for his Boat to carry him off, but the Sea ran too high to venture out of the Ship: The Storm all the while increas'd, and the *Victoire*, in less than two Hours, parted her Cables, was drove ashore where it was steep to, and perished, with all her Men, in Captain *Tew*'s Sight.

The Captain staid with his old Companions, without knowing which Way to return to his Friends he had left with *Misson*, not one of whom was (luckily for them,) on board the Ship. At the End of three Months, as far as they could discover a Hutt, they saw a large Ship, which *Tew* believed was the *Bijoux*; but she took no Notice of the Fires they made: As he expected she would return after a short Cruize, he, and his Companions, made large Fires every Night on the Shore, and visited the Coast very often. About a Month after this, as they came early to the Sea-Side, they were surpriz'd at the Sight of two Sloops which lay at an Anchor, about a Canon Shot from the Shore; they had not been long looking upon them, when a Canoe was hoisted out of One, and made to them, with six Men who row'd, and one Sitter.

Tew soon knew him to be Captain *Misson*; he came ashore, and embracing the former, told him, all their propos'd Happiness was vanished; for without the least Provocation given, in the Dead of the Night, the Natives came down upon them in two great Bodies, and made a great Slaughter, without Distinction of Age or Sex, before they could put themselves in a Posture of Defence; that *Caraccioli* (who died in the Action) and he got what Men together they could, to make a Stand; but finding all Resistance vain against such Numbers, he made a Shift to secure a considerable Quantity of rough Diamonds and Bar Gold, and to get on board the two Sloops with 45 Men: That the *Bijoux* being gone to cruize, and the Number of Men he had carried with him in the *Victoire*, weaken'd the Colony, and given the Natives the Boldness to attack them as they did, but for what Reason he could not imagine.

Tew gave him an Account of the Disaster which had happen'd; and after having mutually condol'd their Misfortunes, *Tew* propos'd their going to *America*, where *Misson* might, with the Riches he had, pass his Life unknown, and in a comfortable Manner.

Misson answer'd he could not yet take any Resolution, tho' he had Thoughts of returning to *Europe*, and privately visiting his Family, if any where alive, and then to retire from the World.

They dined with the Quarter-Master, who press'd their Return to *America*, to procure a Commission for the settling a Colony.

Misson told *Tew*, he should have one of the Sloops, and what Volunteers would keep him Company, for his Misfortunes had erased all Thoughts of future Settlements; that what Riches they had saved, he would distribute equally, nay, he would be content, if he had only a bare Support left him.

On this Answer, four of the Quarter-Master's Company offer'd to join Captain *Tew*.

In the Afternoon they visited both Sloops, and *Misson* putting the Question to the Men, thirty went on board of one Sloop, tho' they parted with great Reluctance from their old Commander; and fifteen staid with *Misson*. The four Men who join'd *Tew* made the Number of his Crew 34; they staid about a Week, in hopes of the *Bijoux*'s Return upon the Coast; but she not appearing, they set sail, Captain *Misson* having first shared the Treasure, with *Tew* and his other Friends and Companions, hoping to meet the *Bijoux* on the *Guiney* Coast, for which they shaped their Course.

Off Cape *Infantes*, they were over-taken with a Storm, in which the unhappy *Misson*'s Sloop went down, within a Musket Shot of Captain *Tew*, who could give him no Assistance.

Tew continued his Course for *America*, and arrived at *Rhode Island* without

any Accident; his Men dispersed themselves, as they thought fit, and *Tew* sent to *Bermudas* for his Owners Account fourteen Times the Value of their Sloop, and not being questioned by any, liv'd in great Tranquillity; the *French* belonging to *Misson*, took different Routs, one of whom dying at *Rochelle*, the *French* Manuscript of *Misson's* Life was found among his Papers, and transmitted to me by a Friend and Correspondent.

Captain *Tew* lived unquestion'd, &c. he had an easy Fortune, and designed to live quietly at home; but those of his Men, who lived near him, having squandered their Shares, were continually solliciting him to take another Trip: He withstood their Request a considerable Time; but they having got together (by the Report they made of the vast Riches to be acquired) a Number of resolute Fellows, they, in a Body, begg'd him to head them but for one Voyage. They were so earnest in their Desire, that he could not refuse complying. They prepared a small Sloop, and made the best of their Way to the *Streights*, entering the *Red Sea*, where they met with, and attack'd a Ship belonging to the Great *Mogul*; in the Engagement, a Shot carried away the Rim of *Tew's* Belly, who held his Bowels with his Hands some small Space; when he dropp'd, it struck such a Terror in his Men, that they suffered themselves to be taken, without making Resistance.





OF
Capt. *HALSEY*,
And his CREW.

John Halsey was a *Boston* Man, of *New England*, commanded the *Charles* Brigantine, and went out with a Commission from the Governor, to cruize on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, where he took a *French* Banker, which he appointed to meet him at *Fyal*; but missing his Prize here, he went among the *Canary* Islands, where he took a *Spanish Barcalonga*, which he plundered and sunk; from thence he went to the Island of *Bravo*, one of the *Cape de Verd*, where he wooded and watered, turn'd ashore his Lieutenant, and several of his Men here running away from him, the Governor sent them on board again, his Commission being as yet in Force; from hence he stood away then to the Southward, and doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, made for *Madagascar* and the Bay of *Augustine*, where he took in Wood and Water, with some straggling Seamen, who were cast away in the *Degrave India* Man, Capt. *Young*, Commander. After this, he shap'd his Course for the *Red Sea*, and met with a *Dutchman* of 60 Guns, coming from *Mocha*, whom he kept Company with a Week. Tho' he was resolved upon turning Pyrate, he intended to rob only the *Moor* Ships, which occasioned a Dispute between him and his Men; they insisting on the Ship's being a *Moor*, he as strenuously asserting she was *Dutch*, was positive in his Resolve of meddling with no *European* Ships. The Men were for boarding, but his Obstinacy not being to be conquered, they broke *Halsey* and his Gunner, confining both, and were ready to board the *Dutchman*, when one of the Crew perceiving he was about to run out his lower Tire, knock'd down the Quarter-Master (whose Business it is to be at the Helm in Time of Chase or Engagement, according to the Rules of Pyrates) clapp'd the Helm hard a Weather, and wore the *Brigantine*: The *Dutchman* staid, and fired a Shot, which taking a Swivel Gun carried it aft, narrowly miss'd the Man at Helm, and shatter'd the Tafrel; the Men perceiving they had catch'd a *Tartar*, made the best of their Way to shake her off, and some were running down between Decks, whom the Surgeon prick'd up again with his

Sword, tho' he no Way was consenting to their design'd Pyracy. The Captain and a Gunner were again reinstated after they had seen their Mistake, and then they steer'd for the *Nicobar* Islands, where they met with a Country Ship, called the *Buffalo*, commanded by Captain *Buckley*, an *Englishman*, coming from *Bengal*, which they took after a short Engagement, there being only three *Europeans* aboard, the Captain and two Mates, the rest were *Moors*. This Ship fell seasonably in their Way, she being bound for *Achen*, with Butter, Rice, and Cloath, and the Pyrates, at that Time, being in great Streights both for Provision and Cloathing. They took the two Mates to Sea with them, but left the Captain and the *Moors* at *Cara Nicobar*, at an Anchor, and then took a Cruize. Captain *Buckley*, who was sick, died before their Return; in the Cruize they met with Captain *Collins* in a Country Sloop, bound also to *Achen*: He had also two *English* Mates with him, but the rest of his Company consisted of *Moors*; him they carried to the same Harbour where they left the *Buffalo*.

Here a Dispute arose among the Pyrates, some were for returning to the *West Indies*, others were against it, for they had got no Money, and that was what engaged their Search; they parted upon this; one Part went on board the *Buffalo*, made one *Rowe* Captain, and *Myers*, a *Frenchman*, Master, whom they had pick'd up at *Madagascar*. The Sloop's Deck they ripp'd up, and mended with it the Bottom of the *Brigantine*, which *Halsey* still commanded; the Ship shaped her Course for *Madagascar*, and the *Brigantine* made for the Streights of *Malacca*, to lie in the Tract of the *Manila* Ships. I must observe, that Capt. *Buckley*'s two Mates, whom they intended to force with them, were by Strength of Intreaty, permitted to go away with a Canoe. In these Streights, they met an *Europe* built Ship, of 26 Guns, which they had not the Courage to attack, being sour'd by the *Dutchman*. They afterwards stood in Shore, and came to an Anchor; few Days after they made a Vessel, which they supposed a *China* Jonque, and gave Chase, but when they came pretty nigh, notwithstanding the Pilot assured them, she was what they supposed, they swore it was a *Dutchman*, and would not venture upon him; so leaving off their Chase stood in Shore, and came again to an Anchor under the *Peninsula*; they lay here some Days, and then spied a tall Vessel, which they chased, and proved the *Albemarle East India* Man, Captain *Bews*, Commander, come from *China*; they came up with him, but thinking it too warm a Ship, after exchanging a few Shot, the *Brigantine* made off, and the *Albemarle* chased in her Turn: They however got clear, having a better Share of Heels, and came again to an Anchor, having not above 40 Hands, their Water growing scarce, and not daring to venture ashore for Fear of the *Dutch*, a Council was called, and it was resolved to make the best of their Way to *Madagascar*, to pick up more Hands, refresh, and set out on new Adventures;

pursuant to this Resolution, they steer'd for that Island, but fell in their Way on *Mascarenas* where, making a small Present to the Governor, they were supplied with what they wanted; from hence they went to a Place on *Madagascar*, call'd by the Pyrates *Hopeful Point*; by the Natives, *Harangby*, near the Island of *St. Mary's*, on the Lat. of 17. 40 S. where they met with the *Buffalo*, and the *Dorothy*, a Prize, made by Captain *Thomas White* and his Company, being about 90 or 100 Men, settled near the same Place, in petty Governments of their own, having some of them 500 or 600, some 1000 Negroe Subjects, who acknowledged their Sovereignty. Here they again repaired their Brigantine, took in Provisions and all Necessaries, augmented their Company to about 100 Men, and set out for the *Red Sea*; they touch'd at *Johanna*, and there took in a Quantity of Goats and Cocoa Nuts for fresh Provisions, and thence in eleven Days reach'd the Streights of *Babel Mandel*: They had not cruised here many Days, when they spied the *Moors* Fleet from *Mocha* and *Jufa*, consisting of 25 Sail, which they fell in with, and had been taken, if their Oars had not help'd them off, it falling a dead Calm. They had not apprehended the Danger so great, if they had not judged these Ships convoy'd by some *Portuguese* Men of War: Some Days after this, they met a one Mast Vessel, called a *Grab*, coming from *Mocha*, which they spied within Gun-Shot, in a thick Fog; they fired a Shot which out her Halliards, and then they took Possession of her with their Boats; she was laden with Drugs, but they took only some Necessaries and 2000 Dollars, and having learned that 4 *English* Vessels lay at *Mocoa*, of which one was from *Jufa*, they let her go.

Three Days after they spied the 4 Ships, which they at first took for the Trees of *Babel Mandel*; at Night they fell in with, and kept them Company till Morning, the Trumpets sounding on both Sides all the Time, for the Pyrate had two on board as well as the *English*. When it was clear Day the four Ships drew into a Line, for they had haled the Pyrate, who made no Ceremony of owning who he was, by answering according to their Manner *From the Seas*. The *Brigantine* bore up till she had slung her Garf. One of the Ships perceiving this, advised Captain *Jago*, who led the Van, in a Ship of 24 Guns and 70 Men, to give Chace, for the Pyrate was on the Run; but a Mate, who was acquainted with the Way of working among Pyrates, answered he would find his Mistake, and said he had seen many a warm Day, but feared this would be the hottest. The *Brigantine* turn'd up again, and coming a Stern, clapp'd the *Rising Eagle* aboard, a Ship of 16 Guns and the Sternmost; tho' they entered their Men, the *Rising Eagle* held them a warm Dispute for 3 Quarters of an Hour, in which Captain *Chamberlain's* chief Mate and several others were killed, the Purser was wounded, jumped over-board, and drowned: In the mean while the other Ships

call'd to Captain *Jago* to board the *Pirate*; who bearing away, to clap him aboard, the *Pirate* gave him a Shot, which raked him fore and aft, and determined Captain *Jago* to get out of Danger; for he run away with all the Sail he could pack, tho' he was fitted out to protect the Coast against *Pirates*. His Example was followed by the rest, every one steering a different Course: Thus they became Masters of the *Rising Eagle*. I can't but take Notice, that the second Mate of the *Rising Eagle*, after Quarters were called for, fired from out of the Forecastle, and killed two of the *Pirates*, one of whom was the Gunner's Consort, who would have revenged his Death by shooting the Mate, but several *Irish* and *Scots*, together with one Captain *Thomas White*, once a Commander among the *Pirates*, but then a private Man, interposed and saved him, in regard that he was an *Irishman*. They examined the Prisoners to know which was the Ship came from *Juffa*, for that had Money on board; and having learn'd it was the *Essex*, they gave Chace, came up with her, hoisted the bloody Flag at the Mainmast-head, fired one single Gun, and she struck; tho' the *Essex* was fitted for close Quarters, there were not on board the *Brigantine* above 20 Hands, and the Prize was a Stern so far, that her Top-mast scarce appeared out of the Water; in chacing this Ship, they pass'd the other two, who held the Fly of their Ensigns in their Hands ready to strike. When the Ship had struck, the Captain of her asked who commanded that *Brigantine*, he was answered, Captain *Halsey*; asking again who was Quarter-Master? He was told, *Nathaniel North*, to whom he called, as he knew him very well. *North* learning his Name was *Punt*, said Captain *Thomas Punt*, *I am sorry you are fallen into our Hands*; he was civilly treated, and nothing belonging to himself or the *English* Gentlemen, who were Passengers, touch'd, tho' they made bold to lay Hands on 40000 l. in Money belonging to the Ship. They had about 10000 l. in Money out of the *Rising Eagle*. They discharged the *Essex*, and with the other Prize and the *Brigantine*, steer'd for *Madagascar*, where they arrived and shared their Booty. Some of the Passengers, who had been so well treated, came afterwards with a small Ship from *India* (with License from the Governor of *Maderas*) called the *Greyhound*, laden with Necessaries, in Hopes to barter with the *Pirates* for the dry Goods they had taken, and recover them at an easy Rate: They were received very kindly, an Invoice of their Goods was asked, the Goods agreed for, shared and paid in Money and Bale Goods. In the mean while came in a Ship from *Scotland*, called the *Neptune*, 26 Guns, 54 Men, commanded by Captain *James Miller*, with a Design to slave, and to go thence to *Batavia* to dispose of her Negroes (having a Supercargo on board, brought up among the *Dutch*) and thence to *Malacco*, to take on board the Cargo of a Ship, call'd the *Speedwell*, lost on her Return from *China*; but finding here another Ship trading with the

Pirates, and having many Necessaries, *French Brandy, Madera Wine, and English Stout* on board, Captain *Miller* thought it better to trade for Money than Slaves. The Merchants of the *Greyhound* nettled to see any but themselves take Money, for the Pirates never haggled about a Price, told 'em, *They could not do the Governor of Maderas a more grateful Piece of Service, than to make Prize of the Neptune, which was a Ship fit for their Purpose.* To which some of the *Scotch and Irish* answered, *they had not best put such a Design on Foot, for if the Company once got it into their Heads to take one, they'd go nigh to take both Ships.* In a short Time after came on a Hurricane, which obliged the *Neptune* to cut away all her Masts, and lost the three Ships belonging to the Pirates, which was their whole Fleet. They having now no Ship, and several of them no Money, having been stripp'd at Play, their Thoughts were bent on the *Neptune*. The Chief Mate of her *Daniel Burgis*, who had a Spleen to the Captain, joining privately with the Pirates (among whom he died) got all the small Masts and Yards ashore; and the Pirates being requested to find him proper Trees for Mastng, told Captain *Miller*, they had found such as would serve his Turn, desiring he would take a Number of Hands ashore to get them down to the Water, which he (suspecting no harm) accordingly did, and he and his Men were seized, and the Long Boat detained ashore. The Captain was forced to send for the second Mate, and afterwards for the Gunner; the Mate, who was the Captain's Brother, went, but the Gunner suspecting foul Play refused: In the Evening *Burgess* came on board, and advised the Surrender of the Ship, which, tho' but sixteen were left on board, they scrupled, and proposed going under the Cover of their own Guns to fetch their Top-masts and Yards, and with them to put to Sea; but the Chief Mate *Burgess*, whose Villany was not then known, persuaded them to give up a Ship they could neither defend nor sail; which was no small Satisfaction to the Merchants in the *Greyhound*, little thinking how soon they would meet with the same Treatment; for two Days after the Pirates mann'd the *Neptune's* Pinnacle, seized the *Greyhound*, took away all the Money they had paid, and shifting out of the *Neptune* ten Pipes of *Madera*, with two Hogsheads of Brandy, into the *Greyhound*, and putting on board the Captain, second Mate, Boatswain and Gunner of the *Neptune*, and about 14 of her Hands, ordered her to Sea; the rest of the *Neptune's* Company being young Men fit for their Purpose, they detained, most of which, by hard drinking, fell into Distempers and died. As to Captain *Halsey*, while the *Scotch Ship* was fitting, he fell ill of a Fever, died and was buried with great Solemnity and Ceremony; the Prayers of the Church of *England* were read over him, Colours were flying, and his Sword and Pistol laid on his Coffin, which was covered with a Ship's Jack; as many Minute Guns fired as he was Years old, viz. 46, and three *English*

Vollies, and one *French* Volley of small Arms. He was brave in his Person, courteous to all his Prisoners, lived beloved, and died regretted by his own People. His Grave was made in a Garden of Water Melons, and fenced in with Pallisades to prevent his being rooted up by wild Hogs, of which there are Plenty in those Parts.

P. S. The *Neptune* seized as above, was the Year after Captain *Halsey's* Death, ready to go to Sea; but a Hurricane happening she was lost, and prov'd the last Ship that Gang of Pyrates ever got Possession of.





OF
Captain *Thomas White*,
And his CREW.

He was born at *Plymouth*, where his Mother kept a Publick House; she took great Care of his Education and when he was grown up, as he had an Inclination to the Sea, procur'd him the King's Letter. After he had served some Years on board a Man of War, he went to *Barbadoes*, where he married, got into the Merchants Service, and designed to settle in the Island: He had the Command of the *Marygold Brigantine* given him, in which he made two successful Voyages to *Guiney* and back to *Barbadoes*; in his third, he had the Misfortune to be taken by a *French Pyrate*, as were several other *English Ships*, the Masters and inferior Officers of which they detained, being in Want of good Artists.

The Brigantine belonging to *White* they kept for their own Use, and sunk the Vessel they before sailed in; but meeting with a Ship on the *Guiney Coast* more fit for their Purpose, they went on board her, and burnt the Brigantine.

It is not my Business here to give an Account of this *French Pyrate*, any farther than Captain *White's* Story obliges me, tho' I beg Leave to take Notice of their Barbarity to the *English Prisoners*, for they would set them up as a Butt or Mark to shoot at; several of whom were thus murdered in cool Blood, by Way of Diversion.

White was marked out for a Sacrifice by one of these Villains, who, for I know not what Reason, had sworn his Death, which he escaped thus. One of the Crew, who had a Friendship for *White*, knew this Fellow's Design, to kill him in the Night, and therefore advised him to lye between him and the Ship's Side, with Intention to save him; which indeed he did, but was himself shot dead by the murderous Villain, who mistook him for *White*; but this by the Bye.

After some Time cruising along the Coast, the Pyrates doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and shaped their Course for *Madagascar*, where, being drunk and mad, they knock'd their Ship on the Head, at the *South End* of the Island, at a Place called by the Natives *Elexa*; the Country thereabouts was governed by a

King, named *Mafaly*.

When the Ship struck, Captain *White*, Captain *Boreman*, (born in the Isle of *White*, formerly a Lieutenant of a Man of War, but in the Merchants Service when he fell into the Hands of the Pyrates) Captain *Bowen* and some other Prisoners got to the Long-Boat, and with broken Oars and Barrel Staves, which they found in the Bottom of the Boat, paddled to *Augustine Bay*; that is about 14 or 15 Leagues from the Wreck where they landed, and were kindly received by the King of *Bavaw* (the Name of that Part of the Island) who spoke good *English*.

They staid here a Year and a half at the King's Expencc, who gave them a plentiful Allowance of Provision, as was his Custom to all White Men, who met with any Misfortune on his Coast; his Humanity not only provided for all such, but the first *European* Vessel that came in, he always obliged them to take in the unfortunate People, let the Vessel be what it would; for he had no Notion of any Difference between Pyrates and Merchants.

At the Expiration of the above Term, a Pyrate Brigantine came in, aboard which the King obliged them to enter, or travel by Land to some other Place, which they durst not do; and of two Evils chose the least, that of going on board the Pyrate Vessel, which was commanded by one *William Read*, who received them very civilly.

This Commander went along the Coast, and pick'd up what *Europeans* he could meet with; his Crew however did not exceed forty Men, he would have been glad of taking on board some of the wreck'd *Frenchmen*, but for the Barbarity they had used towards the *English* Prisoners; however, it was impracticable, for the *French* pretending to lord it over the Natives, whom they began to treat inhumanly, were set upon by them, one half of their Number cut off, and the other half made Slaves.

Read, with this Gang, and a Brigantine of 60 Tons, steer'd his Course for the Gulf of *Persia*, where they met a Grabb (a one masted Vessel) of about 200 Tons, which was made Prize.

They found nothing on board but Bale Goods, most of which they threw overboard to search for Gold, and to make Room in the Vessel; but as they learned afterwards, they threw over in their Search, what they so greedily hunted after, for there was a considerable Quantity of Gold concealed in one of the Bales they toss'd into the Sea.

In this Cruise Captain *Read* fell ill and died; he was succeeded by one *James*. The Brigantine being small, crazy, and worm eaten, they shaped their Course for the Island of *Mayotta*, where they took out the Masts of the Brigantine, fitted up the Grabb, and made a Ship of her: Here they took in a Quantity of fresh

Provision, which is in this Island very plentiful, and very cheap; and found a twelve oar'd Boat, which formerly belonged to the *Ruby East India* Man, which had been lost there.

They staid here all the Monsoon Time, which is about six Months; after which they resolved for *Madagascar*. As they came in with the Land, they spied a Sail coming round from the *East* Side of the Island; they gave Chase on both Sides, so that they soon met: They hailed each other, and receiving the same Answer from each Vessel, viz. *from the Seas*, they joined Company.

This Vessel was a small *French* Ship, laden with Liquors from *Martinico*, first commanded by one *Fourgette*, to trade with the Pyrates for Slaves, at *Ambonawoula*, on the *East* Side the Island, in the Lat. of 17. 30. and was by them taken after the following Manner.

The Pyrates, who were headed by *George Booth*, Commander of the Ship, went on board (as they had often done) to the Number of ten, and carried Money with them under Pretence of purchasing what they wanted. (This *Booth* had formerly been Gunner of a Pyrate Ship, called the *Dolphin*.) Captain *Fourgette* was pretty much upon his Guard, and searched every Man as he came over the Side, and a Pair of Pocket Pistols were found upon a *Dutchman*, who was the first enter'd; the Captain told him, *he was a Rogue, and had a Design upon his Ship*, and the Pyrates pretended to be so angry with this Fellow's offering to come on board with Arms, that they threatned to knock on the Head, and tossing him roughly into the Boat, ordered him ashore, tho' they had before taken an Oath on the Bible, either to carry the Ship or die in the Undertaking.

They were all searched, but they however contrived to get on board 4 Pistols, which were all the Arms they had for the Enterprize, tho' *Fourgette* had 20 Hands on board, and his small Arms on the Arning to be in Readiness.

The Captain invited them into the Cabbin to Dinner, but *Booth* chose to dine with the petty Officers, tho' one *Johnson*, *Isaac*, and another, went down.

Booth was to give the Watch Word, which was *Hurrah*; he pretending to make Water over the Side of the Gunnel, laid his Hand on the Arning, and being a nimble Fellow, at one Spring threw himself upon it, drew the Arms to him, fired his Pistol forward among the Men, one of whom he wounded, (who jumping over-board was lost) and gave the Signal.

Three I said were in the Cabbin, and seven upon Deck, who with Handspikes and the Arms seized, secured the Ship's Crew. The Captain and his two Mates, who were at Dinner in the Cabbin, hearing the Pistol, fell upon *Johnson*, and stabb'd him in several Places with their Forks, but they being Silver, did him no great Damage. *Fourgette* snatch'd his Piece which he snapp'd at *Isaac's* Breast several Times, but it would not go off; at last, finding his Resistance vain, he

submitted, and the Pyrates set him, and those of his Men who would not join them, on Shore, allowing him to take his Books, Papers, and whatever else he claimed as belonging to himself; and besides treating him very humanly gave him several Casks of Liquor, with Arms and Powder, to purchase Provisions in the Country.

I hope this Digression, as it was in a Manner needful, will be excused; I shall now proceed.

After they had taken in the *Dolphin's* Company, which were on the Island, and encreased by that Means their Crew to the Number of 80 Hands, they sail'd to St. *Mary's*, where Captain *Misson's* Ship lay at Anchor, between the Island and the Main: This Gentleman and his whole Ship's Company had been cut off, at the Instigation of *Ort-Vantyle*, a *Dutchman* of *New-York*.

Out of her they took Water Casks and other Necessaries, which having done, they designed for the River *Methelage*, on the West Side *Madagascar*, in the Lat. of 16 or thereabouts, to salt up Provisions and to proceed to the *East Indies*, cruize off the Islands of St. *John*, and lie in Wait for the *Moors* Ships from *Mocha*.

In their Way to *Methelage* they fell in (as I have said) with the Pirate, on board of which was Captain *White*; they join'd Company, came to an Anchor together in the above-nam'd River, where they had cleaned, salted up, taken in their Provisions, and were ready to go to Sea, when a large Ship appeared in Sight, and stood into the same River.

The Pyrates knew not whether she was a Merchant Man or Man of War; she had been the latter, belonging to the *French* King, and could mount 50 Guns; but being taken by the *English*, she was bought by some *London* Merchants, and fitted out from that Port, to slave at *Madagascar*, and go to *Jamaica*. The Captain was a young unexperienced Man, who was put in with a Nurse.

The Pyrates sent their Boats to speak with him, but the Ship firing at them, they concluded it a Man of War, and rowed to Shore, the two Pyrates slipp'd and run ashore; the Grabb standing in, and not keeping her Wind so well as the *French* built Ship, run among a Parcel of Mangroves, and a Stump piercing her Bottom, she sunk; the other run aground, let go her Anchor, and came to no Damage, for the Tide of Flood fetch'd her off.

The Captain of the *Speaker*, for that was the Name of the Ship which frighten'd the Pyrates, was not a little vain of having forced these two Vessels ashore, tho' he did not know whether they were Pyrates or Merchant Men, and could not help expressing himself in these Words; *How will my Name ring on the Exchange, when it is known I have run two Pyrates aground*, which gave Handle to a satyrical Return from one of his Men after he was taken, who said,

Lord, How our Captain's Name will ring on the Exchange, when it is heard, he frighten'd two Pyrate Ships ashore, and was taken by their two Boats afterwards.

When the *Speaker* came within Shot, she fired several at the two Vessels; and when she came to an Anchor, several more into the Country, which alarm'd the Negroes, who, acquainting their King, he would allow him no Trade, till the Pyrates living ashore, and who had a Design on his Ship, interceded for 'em, telling the King, they were their Countrymen, and what had happened was thro' a Mistake, it being a Custom among them to fire their Guns by Way of Respect, and it was owing to the Gunner of the Ship's Negligence, that they fir'd Shot.

The Captain of the *Speaker* sent his Purser ashore, to go up the Country to the King, who lived about 24 Miles from the Coast, to carry a couple of small Arms inlaid with Gold, a couple of Brass Blunderbusses, and a Pair of Pistols, as Presents, and to require Trade.

As soon as the Purser was ashore, he was taken Prisoner, by one *Tom Collins*, a *Welchman*, born in *Pembroke*, who lived on Shore, and had belong'd to the *Charming Mary* of *Barbadoes*, which went out with a Commission, but was converted to a Pyrate; he told the Purser, he was his Prisoner, and must answer the Damage done two Merchants, who were slaving.

The Purser answer'd, that he was not Commander, that the Captain was a hot rash Youth, put into a Business by his Friends, which he did not understand; but however, Satisfaction should be made.

He was carried by *Collins* on board *Booth's* Ship, where, at first, he was talked to in pretty strong Terms; but after a while very civilly us'd, and the next Morning sent up to the King with a Guide, and Peace made for him, as already said.

The King allowed them Trade, and sent down the usual Presents, a couple of Oxen, between 20 and 30 People laden with Rice, and as many more with the Country Liquor, called *Toke*.

The Captain then settled the Factory on the Shore Side, and began to buy Slaves and Provisions; the Pyrates were among them, and had Opportunities of sounding the Men, and knowing in what Posture the Ship lay. They found by one *Hugh Man*, belonging to the *Speaker*, that there were not above 40 Men on board, and that they had lost the second Mate and 20 Hands in the Long Boat, on the Coast, before they came into this Harbour, but that they kept a good Look-out, and had their Guns ready primed; however, he, for a hundred Pounds, undertook to wet all the Priming, and assist in the taking the Ship.

After some Days the Captain of the *Speaker* came on Shore, and was received with a great Deal of Civility by the Heads of the Pyrates, having agreed before to

make Satisfaction; in a Day or two after, he was invited by them to eat a Barbacute Shoot, which Invitation he accepted.

After Dinner, Captain *Bowen*, who was, I have already said, a Prisoner on board the *French* Pyrate, but now become one of the Fraternity, and Master of the *Grab*, went out, and returned with a Case of Pistols in his Hand, and told the Captain of the *Speaker*, whose Name I won't mention, that he was his Prisoner; he asked, upon what Account? *Bowen* answered, they wanted a Ship, his was a good One, and they were resolved to have her, to make amends for the Damage he had done them.

In the mean while his Boats Crew, and the rest of his Men ashore, were told by other of the Pyrates, who were drinking with them, that they were also Prisoners; some of them answer'd, *Z—ds, we don't trouble our Heads what we are, let's have t'other Bowl of Punch.*

A Watch Word was given, and no Boat to be admitted on board the Ship; this Word, which was for that Night, *Coventry*, was known to them: At Eight a-Clock they mann'd the twelve-oar'd Boat, and that they found at *Mayotta*, with 24 Men, and set out for the Ship.

When they were put off, the Captain of the *Speaker* desired them to come back, he wanted to speak with them; Captain *Booth* asked, what he wanted? He said, they could never take his Ship, then said *Booth*, we'll die in or along Side of her; but replied the Captain, if you will go with Safety, don't board on the Lar-board Side, for there is a Gun out of the Steerage loaden with Patridge, will clear the Decks; they thank'd him, and proceeded.

When they were near the Ship they were haled, and the Answer was, *the Coventry*; all well, said the Mate, get the Lights over the Side, but spying the second Boat, he asked what Boat that was? one answered, it was a Raft of Water, another, that it was a Boat of Beef; this Disagreement in the Answers made the Mate suspicious, who cried out *Pirates, take to your Arms my Lads*, and immediately clapp'd a Match to a Gun, which, as the Priming was before wet by the Treachery of *Hugh Man*, only fizz'd; they boarded in the Instant, and made themselves Masters of her, without the Loss of a Man on either Side.

The next Day they put necessary Provisions on board the *French* built Ship, and gave her to the Captain of the *Speaker*, and those Men who would go off with him, among whom was *Man*, who had betray'd his Ship; for the Pyrates had both paid him the 100 l. agreed, and kept his Secret. The Captain having thus lost his Ship, sail'd in that the Pyrates gave him, for *Johanna*, where he fell ill and died with Grief.

The Pyrates having here victualled, they sail'd for the Bay of *St. Augustine*, where they took in between 70 and 80 Men, who had belonged to the Ship

Alexander, commanded by Captain *James*, a Pyrate; they also took up her Guns, and mounted the *Speaker* with 54, which made up their Number 240 Men besides Slaves, of which they had about 20.

From hence they sailed for the *East Indies*, but stopp'd at *Zanguebar* for fresh Provisions, where the *Portuguese* had once a Settlement, but now inhabited by *Arabians*; some of them went ashore with the Captain to buy Provisions, the Captain was sent for by the Governor, who went with about 14 in Company: They past thro' the Guard, and when they were entered the Governor's House, they were all cut off; and, at the same Time, others who were in different Houses of the Town were set upon, which made them fly to the Shore; the Long-Boat, which lay off at a Grapling, was immediately put in by those who look'd after her: There were not above half a dozen of the Pyrates who brought their Arms ashore, but they plyed them so well, for they were in the Boat, that most of the Men got into her, the Quarter-Master ran down Sword in Hand, and tho' he was attack'd by many, he behaved himself so well, that he got into a little Canoe, put her off and reached the Long-Boat.

In the Interim, the little Fort the *Arabians* had, play'd upon the Ship, which returned the Salute very warmly. Thus they got on board, with the Loss of Captain *Booth* and twenty Men, and set Sail for the *East-Indies*.

When they were under Sail, they went to Voting for a new Captain, and the Quarter-Master, who had behaved so well in the last Affair with the *Arabians*, was chosen; but he declining all Command, the Crew made Choice of *Bowen* for Captain, *Pickering* to succeed him as Master, *Samuel Herault*, a *Frenchman*, for Quarter-Master, and *Nathaniel North*, for Captain Quarter-Master.

Things being thus settled, they came to the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, and fell in with 13 Sail of *Moors* Ships, which they kept Company with the greater Part of the Day, but were afraid to venture on them as they took them for *Portuguese* Men of War; at length part were for boarding, and advised it, the Captain, tho' he said little, did not seem inclin'd, for he was but a young Pyrate, tho' an old Commander of a Merchant Man.

Those who push'd for boarding then, desired Captain *Boreman*, already mentioned, to take the Command; but he said, he would not usurp on any, that no Body was more fit for it than he who had it, that for his Part, he would stand by his Fusil and went forward to the Forecastle with such as would have had him taken the Command, to be ready to board; on which, the Captain's Quarter-Master said, if they were resolved to engage their Captain, (whose Representative he was) did not want Resolution, therefore, he ordered them to get their Tacks on board (for they had already made a clear Ship) and get ready for boarding; which they accordingly did, and coming up with the sternmost

Ship, they fired a Broadside into her, which killed two *Moors*, clapp'd her on board and carried her; but Night coming on, they made only this Prize, which yielded them 500 l. *per* Man.

From hence they sailed to the Coast of *Mallabar*; the Adventures of these Pyrates on this Coast are already set down in Captain *Bowen's* Life, to which I refer the Reader, and shall only observe, Captain *White* was all this while afore the Mast, being a forced Man from the Beginning.

Bowen's Crew dispersing, Captain *White* went to *Methelage*, where he lived ashore with the King, not having any Opportunity of getting off the Island, till another Pirate Ship, called the *Prosperous*, commanded by one *Thomas Howard*, who had been bred a Lighterman on the River of *Thames*, came in: This Ship was taken at *Augustine*, by some Pyrates from Shore, and the Crew of their own Long-Boat, which join'd them, at the Instigation of one *Ranten*, Boatswain's Mate, who was sent for Water. They came on board in the Night and surprized her, tho' not without Resistance, in which the Captain and chief Mate was killed, and several others wounded, the Particulars of which will be found in *Hore's* Life. Those who were ashore with Captain *White*, resolving to enter in this Ship, determined him to go also, rather than be left alone with the Natives, hoping, by some Accident or other, to have an Opportunity of returning home. He continu'd on board this Ship, in which he was made Quarter-Master, till they met with, and all went on board of *Bowen*, as is set down in his Life, in which Ship he continued after *Bowen* left them, as shall be mentioned in the Appendix. At *Port Dolphin* he went off in the Boat to fetch some of the Crew left ashore, the Ship being blown to Sea the Night before. The Ship not being able to get in, and he supposing her gone to the West-Side of the Island, as they had formerly proposed, he steered that Course in his Boat with 26 Men. They touch'd at *Augustine* expecting the Ship, but she not appearing in a Week, the Time they waited, the King order'd 'em to be gone, telling 'em they impos'd on him with Lies, for he did not believe they had any Ship; however, he gave 'em fresh Provision. They took in Water, and made for *Methelage*. Here, as Captain *White* was known to the King, they were kindly received, and staid about a Fortnight in Expectation of their Ship, but she not appearing, they raised their Boat a-streak, salted up the Provisions the King gave 'em, put Water aboard, and stood for the North-End of the Island, designing to go round, believing their Ship might be at the Island of *St. Mary*. When they came to the North-End, the Current, which sets to the North-West for eight Months in the Year, was so strong they found it impossible to get round. Wherefore they got into a Harbour, of which there are many for small Vessels. Here they staid about three Weeks or a Month, when part of the Crew were for burning the Boat, and for travelling

over Land to a black King of their Acquaintance, whose Name was *Reberimbo*, who lived at a Place called *Manangaromasigh*, in the Latitude of 15, or thereabouts. As this King had been several times assisted by the Whites in his Wars, he was a great Friend to them. Captain *White* dissuaded them from this Undertaking, and, with much ado, saved the Boat; but one half of the Men being resolved to go by Land, they took what Provisions they thought necessary, and set out, Captain *White*, and those who staid with him, convoy'd 'em a Day's Journey, and then returning, he got into the Boat with his Companions, and went back to *Methelage*, fearing these Men might return, prevail with the rest, and burn the Boat.

Here he built a Deck on his Boat, and lay by three Months, in which Time there came in three Pyrates with a Boat, who had formerly been trepann'd on board the *Severn* and *Scarborough* Men of War, which had been looking for Pyrates on the East-Side; from which Ships they made their escape at *Mohila*, in a small Canoe to *Johanna*, and from *Johanna* to *Mayotta*, where the King built 'em the Boat which brought 'em to *Methelage*. The Time of the Current's setting with Violence to the North-West being over, they proceeded together in *White's* Boat (burning that of *Mayotta*) to the North-End, where the Current running yet too strong to get round, they went into a Harbour and staid there a Month, maintaining themselves with Fish and wild Hog, of which there was great Plenty. At length, having a Slatch of fine Weather, and the Strength of the Current abating, they got round; and after sailing about 40 Mile on the East-Side, they went into a Harbour, where they found a Piece of a Jacket, which they knew belong'd to one of those Men who had left 'em to go over Land; he had been a forced Man, and a Ship Carpenter; this they supposed he had torn to wrap round his Feet, that Part of the Country being barren and rocky. As they sailed along this Coast, they came to an Anchor in convenient Harbours every Night, till they got as far as *Manangaromasigh* where King *Reberimbo* resided, where they went in to enquire for their Men, who left 'em at the North-End, and to recruit with Provisions. The latter was given 'em, but they could have no Information of their Companions.

From hence they went to the Island of *St. Mary*, where a Canoe came off to 'em with a Letter directed to any white Man. They knew it to be the Hand of one of their former Ship-Mates. The Contents of this Letter was to advise 'em to be on their Guard, and not trust too much to the Blacks of this Place, they having been formerly treacherous. They enquired after their Ship, and was inform'd, that the Company had given her to the *Moors*, who were gone away with her, and that they themselves were settled at *Ambonavoula*, about 20 Leagues to the Southward of *St. Mary*, where they lived among the Negroes as so many

sovereign Princes.

One of the Blacks, who brought off the Letter, went on board their Boat, carried them to the Place called *Olumbah*, a Point of Land made by a River on one Side, and the Sea on the other, where twelve of 'em lived together in a large House they had built, and fortified with about 20 Pieces of Canon.

The rest of them were settled in small Companies of about 12 or 14 together, more or less, up the said River, and along the Coast, every Nation by it self, as the *English, French, Dutch, &c.* They made Enquiry of their Consorts after the Shares of Prizes which belong'd to them, and they found all very justly laid by to be given them, if ever they return'd, as were what belong'd to the Men who went over Land. Captain *White* hankering after home, proposed going out again in the Boat; for he was averse to settling with them; and many others agreed to go under his Command; and if they could not meet with a Ship to carry them to *Europe*, to follow their old Vocation. But the others did not think it reasonable he should have the Boat, but that it should be set to Sale for the Benefit of the Company. Accordingly it was set up, and Captain *White* bought it for 400 Pieces of Eight, and with some of his old Consorts, whose Number was increas'd by others of the Ship's Crew, he went back the Way he had come, to *Methelage*: Here he met with a *French* Ship of about 50 Tuns and 6 Guns; she had been taken by some Pyrates who lived at *Maratan*, on the East-Side of the Island, and some of the *Degrave East-India* Man's Crew, to whom the Master of her refused a Passage to *Europe*; for as he had himself been a Pyrate and Quarter-Master to *Bowen* in the *Speaker*, he apprehended their taking away his Ship, War being then between *England* and *France*, he thought they might do it without being called in question as Pyrates. The Pyrates who had been concerned in taking *Herault's* Ship, for that was his Name, had gone up the Country, and left her to the Men belonging to the *Degrave*, who had fitted her up, clean'd and tallow'd her, and got in some Provision, with a Design to go to the *East-Indies*, that they might light on some Ship to return to their own Country.

Captain *White* finding these Men proposed their joining him, and going round to *Ambonavoula*, to make up a Company, which they agreed to, and unanimously chose him Commander. They accordingly put to Sea, and stood away round the South End of the Island, and touch'd at *Don Mascarena*, where he took in a Surgeon, and stretching over again to *Madagascar*, fell in with *Ambonavoula*, and made up his Complement 60 Men. From hence he shaped his Course for the Island of *Mayotta*, where he cleaned his Ship, and staid for the Season to go into the *Red Seas*: His Provisions being taken in, the Time proper, and the Ship well fitted, he steer'd for *Babelmandel*, and running into a Harbour waited for the *Mocha* Ships.

He here took two Grabs laden with Provision, and having some small Money and Drugs aboard; these he plunder'd of what was for his Turn, kept 'em a Fortnight by him, and then let them go. Soon after they spied a tall Ship, upon which they put to Sea; but finding her *Europe* built, and too strong to attempt, for it was a *Dutch* Man, they gave over the Chace, and were glad to shake him off, and return to their Station. Fancying they were here discover'd, from the Coast of *Arabia*, or that the Grabs had given Information of them, they stood over for the *Ethiopian* Shore, keeping a good look out for the *Mocha* Ships.

Few Days after they met with a large Ship of about 1000 Tuns and 600 Men, called the *Malabar*, which they chased, kept Company with all Night, and took in the Morning, with the Loss only of their Boatswain, and two or three Men wounded. In the taking this Ship they damaged their own so much, by springing their Foremast, carrying away their Bowsprit, and beating in part of their upper Works, that they did not think her longer fit for their Use, therefore filled her with Prisoners, gave 'em Provision, and sent them away.

Some Days after this they spied a *Portuguese* Man of War of 44 Guns, which they chased, but gave it over, by carrying away their Main-Top-Mast, so that they did not speak with her, for the *Portuguese* took no Notice of them.

Four Days after they had left this Man of War, they fell in with a *Portuguese* Merchant-Man, which they chased with the *English* Colours flying, the Chace taking *White* for an *English* Man of War or *East-India* Man, made no Sail to get from him, but on his coming up brought to, and sent his Boat on board with a Present of Sweet-Meats for the *English* Captain; his Boat's Crew was detain'd, and the Pyrates getting into his Boat with their Arms, went on board, and fir'd on the *Portuguese*, who being surprizd, asked if War was broke out between *England* and *Portugal*? They answer'd in the Affirmative, but the Captain could not believe 'em. However, they took what they liked, and kept him with them.

After two Days they met with the *Dorothy*, an *English* Ship, Captain *Penruddock* Commander, coming from *Mocha*. They exchanged several Shot in the Chace, but when they came a Long-side her, they entered their Men, and found no Resistance, she being navigated by *Moors*, no *Europeans* except the Officers being on board. On a Vote they gave Captain *Penruddock* (from whom they took a considerable Quantity of Money) the *Portuguese* Ship and Cargoe, with what Bales he pleased to take out of his own, bid him go about his Business, and make what he could of her. As to the *English* Ship, they kept her for their own Use.

Soon after they plunder'd the *Mallabar* Ship, out of which they took as much Money as came to 200 l. Sterling a man, but miss'd 50000 Chequins which were hid in a Jar under a Cow's-Stall, kept for the giving Milk to the *Moor*

Supercargoe, an ancient Man. They then put the *Portuguese* and *Moor* Prisoners on board the *Mallabar*, and sent them about their Business. The Day after they had sent them away, one Captain *Benjamin Stacy*, in a Ketch of six Guns fell into their Hands; they took what Money he had, and what Goods and Provisions they wanted. Among the Money were 500 Dollars, a Silver Mug and two Spoons belonging to a Couple of Children on board, and under the Care of *Stacy*. The Children took on for their Loss, and the Captain asking the Reason of their Tears, was answer'd by *Stacy*, that the above Sum and Plate was all the Children had to bring them up.

Captain *White* made a Speech to his Men, and told 'em, it was cruel to rob the innocent Children; upon which, by unanimous Consent, all was restor'd them again; besides, they made a Gathering among themselves, and made a Present to *Stacy's* Mate, and other his inferior Officers, and about 120 Dollars to the Children; they then discharged *Stacy* and his Crew, and made the best of their Way out of the *Red Sea*.

They came into the Bay of *Defarr*, where they found a Ketch at an Anchor, which the People had made Prize of, by seizing the Master and Boat's Crew ashoar. They found a *French* Gentleman, one Monsieur *Berger*, on board, whom they carried with 'em, took out about 2000 Dollars, and sold the Ketch to the Chief ashoar for Provisions.

Hence they sailed for *Madagascar*, but touch'd at *Mascarena*, where several of 'em went ashoar with their Booty, about 1200 l. a Man. Here taking in fresh Provision, *White* steer'd for *Madagascar*, and fell in with *Hopeful Point*, where they shar'd their Goods, and took up Settlements ashoar, where *White* built a House, bought Cattle, took off the upper Deck of his Ship, and was fitting her up for the next Season. When she was near ready for Sea, Captain *John Halsey*, who had made a broken Voyage, came in with a Brigantine, which being a properer Vessel for their Turn, they desisted from working on the Ship, and who had a Mind for fresh Adventures, went on board *Halsey*, among whom Captain *White* enter'd afore the Mast.

At his return to *Madagascar*, *White* was taken ill of a Flux, which in about 5 or 6 Months ended his Days; finding his Time was drawing nigh, he made his Will, left several Legacies, and nam'd three Men of different Nations, Guardian to a Son he had by a Woman of the Country, requiring he might be sent to *England* with the Money he left him, by the first *English* Ship, to be brought up in the Christian Religion in hopes he might live a better Man than his Father. He was buried with the same Ceremony they use at the Funerals of their Companions, which is mention'd in the Account of *Halsey*. Some Years after an *English* Ship touching there, the Guardians faithfully discharged their Trust, and

put him on board with the Captain, who brought up the Boy with Care, acting by him as became a Man of Probity and Honour.





OF
Captain CONDENT,
And his CREW.

Captain *Condent* was a *Plymouth* Man born, but we are as yet ignorant of the Motives, and Time of his first turning Pyrate; he was one of those who thought fit to retire from *Providence* (on Governor *Roger's* Arrival at that Island) in a Sloop belonging to Mr. *Simpson*, of *New York*, a *Jew* Merchant, of which Sloop he was then Quarter-Master. Soon after they left the Island, an Accident happened on board, which put the whole Crew into Consternation; they had among them an *Indian* Man, whom some of them had beat; in revenge, he got most of the Arms forward into the Hold, and designed to blow up the Sloop. Upon which, some advised scuttling the Deck and throwing Grenade Shells down, but *Condent* said, that was too tedious and dangerous, since the Fellow might fire thro' the Decks and kill several of them; he, therefore, taking a Pistol in one Hand, and his Cutlash in the other, leaped into the Hold; the *Indian* discharged a Piece at him, which broke his Arm, but, however, he ran up to and shot the *Indian*. When he was dead the Crew hack'd him to Pieces, and the Gunner ripping up his Belly, tore out his Heart, broiled and eat it.

After this, they took a Merchant Man, called, the *Duke of York*; and some Disputes arising among the Pyrates, the Captain, and one half of the Company, went on board the Prize; the other half, who continued in the Sloop, chose *Condent* Captain; he shaped his Course for the *Cape de Verd* Islands, and in his Way, took a Merchant Ship from *Maderas*, laden with Wine, bound for the *West Indies*, which he plundered and let go; then coming to the Isle of *May*, one of the said Islands, he took the whole Salt Fleet, consisting of about 20 Sail; he wanting a Boom, took out the Mainmast of one of these Ships, to supply the Want: Here he took upon him the Administration of Justice, enquiring into the Manner of the Commander's Behaviour to their Men, and those, against whom Complaint was made, he whipp'd and pickled. He took what Provisions and other Necessaries he wanted, and having augmented his Company, by Voluntiers and forced Men,

he left the Ships and sailed to St. *Jago*, where he took a *Dutch* Ship, which had formerly been a Privateer; this prov'd also an easy Prize, for he fired but one Broadside, and clapping her on board, carried her without Resistance, for the Captain and several Men were killed, beside some wounded by his great Shot.

This Ship proving for his Purpose, he gave her the Name of the *Flying Dragon*, went on board with his Crew, and made a Present of his Sloop to a Mate of an *English* Prize, whom he had forced with him; from hence he stood away for the Coast of *Brazil*, and in his Cruize, took several *Portuguese* Ships, which he plundered and let go.

After these, he fell in with the *Wright* Galley, Captain *John Spelt*, Commander, hired by the *South-Sea* Company, to go to the Coast of *Angola* for Slaves, and thence to *Buenos Ayres*. This Ship he detained a considerable Time, and the Captain being his Townsman, treated him very civilly; few Days after he took *Spelt*, he made Prize of a *Portuguese*, laden with Bale Goods and Stores; he new rigg'd the *Wright* Galley, and put on board her several Goods.

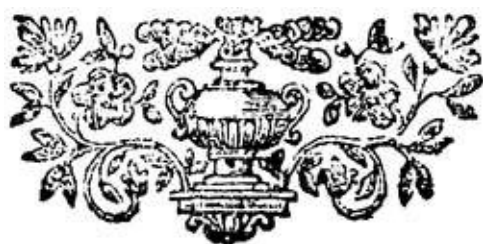
Soon after he had discharged the *Portuguese*, he met with a *Dutch East-India* Man of 26 Guns, whose Captain was kill'd the first Broadside, and took her with little Resistance, for he had hoisted the Pyrates Colours on board *Spelt's* Ship.

He now, with three Sail, steer'd for the Island of *Ferdinando*, where he hove down and clean'd the *Flying Dragon*; having careen'd, he put 11 *Dutchmen* on board Captain *Spelt*, to make Amends for the Hands he had forced from him, and sent him away, making him a Present of the Goods he took from the *Portuguese* Ship. When he sail'd himself, he ordered the *Dutch* to stay at *Ferdinando* 24 Hours after his Departure; threatening, if he did not comply, to sink his Ship; if he fell a second Time into his Hands, and to put all the Company to the Sword. He then stood for the Coast of *Brazil*, where he met a *Portuguese* Man of War of 70 Guns, which he came up with; the *Portuguese* hal'd him, and he answer'd, *from London*, bound for *Buenos Ayres*: The *Portuguese* mann'd his Shrouds and chear'd him, when *Condent* fired a Broadside and a Volley of small Arms, which began a smart Engagement for the Space of 3 Glasses; but *Condent* finding himself over-match'd, made the best of his Way, and, being the better Sailor, got off.

Few Days after he took a Vessel of the same Nation, who gave an Account, that he had killed above 40 Men in the *Guarda del Costa*, beside a Number wounded; he kept along the Coast to the Southward, and took a *French* Ship of 18 Guns, laden with Wine and Brandy, bound for the *South-Sea*, which he carried with him into the River of *Plate*. He sent some of his Men ashore to kill some wild Cattle, but they were taken by the Crew of a *Spanish* Man of War; on their Examination before the Captain, they said they were two *Guiney* Ships,

with Slaves belonging to the *South-Sea* Company, and on this Story were allowed to return to their Boats: Here five of his forced Men ran away with his Canoe, he plundered the *French* Ship, cut her adrift, and she was stranded. He proceeded along the *Brazil* Coast, and hearing a Pyrate Ship was lost upon it, and the Pyrates imprisoned, he used all the *Portuguese*, who fell into his Hands, who were many, very barbarously, cutting off their Ears and Noses; and as his Master was a Papist, when they took a Priest, they made him say Mass at the Main-mast, and would afterwards get on his Back and ride him about the Decks, or else load and drive him like a Beast. He from this went to the *Guiney* Coast, and took Captain *Hill* in the *Indian Queen*.

In *Luengo* Bay he saw two Ships at Anchor, one a *Dutchman* of 44 Guns, the other an *English* Ship, called the *Fame*, Captain *Bowen*, Commander; they both cut and ran ashore, the *Fame* was lost, but the *Dutch* Ship, the Pyrate, got off and took with him. When he was at Sea again he discharged Captain *Hill*, and stood away for the *East-Indies*. Near the Cape he took an *Ostend East-India* Man, of which Mr. *Nash*, a noted Merchant in *London*, was Supercargo. Soon after he took a *Dutch East-India* Man, discharged the *Ostender*, and made for *Madagascar*; at the Isle of *St. Mary*, he met with some of Captain *Halsey's* Crew, whom he took on board with other Stragglers, and shaped his Course for the *East-Indies*, and in the Way, at the Island of *Johanna*, took, in Company of two other Pyrates he met at *St. Mary's*, the *Cassandra East-India* Man, commanded by Captain *James Macragh*; he continued his Course for the *East-Indies*, where he made a very great Booty, and returning, touch'd at the Isle of *Mascarenas*, where he met with a *Portuguese* Ship of 70 Guns, with the Vice-Roy of *Goa*, on board. This Ship he made Prize of, and hearing she had Money on board, they would allow of no Ransom, but carried her to the Coast of *Zanguebar*, where was a *Dutch* Fortification, which they took and plunder'd, razed the Fort, and carried off several Men who enter'd voluntarily. From hence they stood for *St. Mary's*, where they shared their Booty, broke up their Company, and settled among the Natives: Here a *Snow* came from *Bristol*, which they obliged to carry a Petition to the Governor of *Mascarenas* for a Pardon, tho' they paid the Master very generously. The Governor returned Answer, he would take them into Protection if they would destroy their Ships, which they agreed to, and accordingly sunk the *Flying Dragon*, &c. *Condent* and some others went to *Mascarenas*, where *Condent* married the Governor's Sister-in-Law, and stay'd some Time; but as I have been credibly inform'd, he is since come to *France*, settled at *St. Maloes*, and drives a considerable Trade as a Merchant.





**A DESCRIPTION of *MAGADOXA*,
taken partly from the Journal
of Captain *Beavis*, and also from
an original Manuscript of a Molotto,
who was taken by the Natives, and
lived amongst them sixteen Years.**

In the Year 1700, Capt. *William Beavis*, Commander of the Ship, called the *Albemarle*, then in the Service of the *East-India* Company, sail'd from *England*, bound for *Surrat*, in the *East-Indies*, but after having been some Months at Sea, having the Misfortune to meet with contrary Masorns, he lost his Passage, so that he was forced on the Coast of *Zanguebar*, in the higher *Ethiopia*, or the Continent of *Africk*, where he endeavoured to find out some Place of Safety, that the Ship might ride secure, and where he might meet with some Necessaries for refreshing his Company, while he waited for the Change of Winds, which he could not expect in less than three or four Months.

They came in with the Land, and cast Anchor on the ninth of *November*, the Year before-mentioned; the Tenth it blew hard, but on the Eleventh the Weather being pretty fair, the Captain sent the Yawl on Shore, in two different Places, at considerable Distance from each other, they found the Land every where sandy, and all over green with Shrubs, but saw no Houses, nor could they discover the least Track of any human Creature; however, they saw Deer, but could not come near enough to have a Shot at them; they also found the Dung of Wolves, Hares, and some other Animals, but saw none; and near the Water-side they found the Shells of a great Number of Craw-Fish, but met with none alive; wherefore, they guessed that they were left here by some Creatures, who fished them up and usually fed upon them.

Finding this Place altogether inhospitable, they weigh'd Anchor and sail'd along the Shore, till the 17th of the same Month, when the Captain looking thro' his Spying-glass, saw three or four Men walking along the Sea-Side, and sometimes sitting down, but could not discern any House, Fire, or Smoak, but

when they had sail'd about a League farther, they perceived an Inlet or Bay, where the Captain fancied there might be a River; he could also perceive several tall Trees, which were the first they had seen since they came upon the Coast, which made the Captain conjecture, that there must be some Inhabitants.

Upon this, they came to an Anchor, and manning out the Boat, the Captain sent Mr. *Baldwin* the third Mate in her, to go into the Bay, in order to discover whether there was any River which discharged itself into it; when they were in with the Shore, they perceived about fifty or sixty People standing upon a Bank near the Water-side, and one separating himself from the Rest, approached nearer to them, and held up a white Piece of Linnen at the End of a Stick, and waved it at them, which they understood to be a Flag of Friendship, and which the Boat answered by the like Signal; then the Person on Shore beckon'd to them with his Hand, which they took to be an Invitation to come on Shore, and accordingly they ventured; there were two of the Boat's Men who spoke a little *Portuguese*, who saluted this Man in that Language; as soon as they came near him, his Gesture appeared very civil, but they could not understand a Syllable of what he said in Answer, but by his Signs, they fancied he invited them to come to their Huts, in order to eat and drink.

However, they did not think fit to stay longer at this Time, but returned on Board, to give the Captain an Account of what had pass'd, and to let him know, that they could discover no River in the Bay; they described the People to be pretty tall and well made, their Colour jet black, their Heads and Beards close shaved, wearing upon their Heads Turbants made of a Kind of Linnen, and a Sort of Sash made of Dungeree Linnen about their Wastes, the Rest of their Bodies being quite naked; whereupon, consulting with a Molotto, one of the Ship's Company, who understood the *Turkish* and *Arabian* Languages, what he thought the Language of these People might be, he judg'd it to be a Kind of corrupted *Arabick*, because their Dress was not unlike that of the *Arabians* of the Desert, and that it was not unlikely, but that they might be some Way descended from them; wherefore, the Captain resolved to mann the Boat again, and to send the Molotto ashore with them, to try if he could so far understand their Language, as to learn from them, where there was fresh Water, or any other Refreshments to be had; and also to enquire for some Port or Bay, where the Ship might be with Safety till the breaking up of those Easterly Winds.

The Wind blew so fresh all that Day, which was the 19th, that they could not send the Boat on Shore. At Night they watched to see if they could discover any Appearance of Fire any where upon Land, but they could discern nothing like it; wherefore, it seemed strange to them, that in a Country inhabited, there should be neither Smoak by Day, nor Fire by Night, which made them suppose, the

Huts of the Natives were far up the Country.

However, the next Day the Boat was sent on Shore with the Molotto Interpreter, and Mr. *Courser* the fourth Mate; and for Fear of any Surprize, the Captain ordered them to carry Arms in the Boat. When they approach'd near the Shore, several of the Natives made towards the Waterside, but seeing the Boat's Men take their Arms in their Hands at their Landing, they fled affrighted up the Country, nor would they ever come near them after; the Men went a little Way up the Land and met with some Huts, which were covered with the Shells of Turtles, which Creatures it is supposed the Natives catch in their proper Season for Food, and then making a Covering of their Shells for their Houses; they also saw several Cows, at some Distance, which are very swift at running, and not larger than our Deer; they saw some other Animals, but took none, and so returned on Board without gaining any Intelligence.

The Mistake here was, that they did not lye off with their Boat, and make a Signal as they did at first, which would have disposed the Natives to have staid for them, as they did before, but going ashore abruptly with Arms in their Hands, frighten'd the Natives, as if they had come to kill them; wherefore, there was no Expectation of making any Discovery here, which induced the Captain to weigh Anchor, and steer a little farther Westward.

The next Morning, which was the twenty second, they came to an Anchor, and sent their Boat on Shore again, with Mr. *Baldwin* the third Mate, and the Gunner; there being some high Hills not far from the Place where they landed, the Mate and Gunner resolved to walk to the Top of one of the highest of those Hills, in order to take a View of the Country beneath. About four in the Afternoon they returned again to the Ship, bringing Word, that there was a pleasant Valley on the other Side, about five Miles in Length, and near as far in Breadth, but that they could see no Houses or other Signs of Inhabitants, but that the Valley seemed to abound with Deer, and several other Creatures; they brought on Board three Antilopes, and two large Guiney Hens, which they shot, and saw great Numbers of both these Creatures about the Bushes on the Sides of those Hills; the Antilopes were small, but extreamly beautiful, their Bodies no bigger than that of a Hare, but their Legs much longer, their Colour was a Mixture of black and white, very smooth, and very bright, with Horns about three Inches long.

They weigh'd and crept along ashore to the Westward, and next Day, which was the Twenty third, the Captain with his Spying-glass saw seven or eight Men near the Shore; wherefore, he sent the Boat to endeavour to speak with them. As soon as they saw the Boat approach them, they went off; the Men however went on Shore, and at some Distance saw two Camels and two Asses loaden, pass

along with Men attending them; they did what they could to speak with these too, but when they perceived the Boat's Men to make towards them, they drove so fast there was no coming near them.

The next Morning the Weather being clearer than ordinary, the Captain looking thro' his Glass, fancied he saw several tall Spires to the Westward; he weigh'd Anchor, and stood away for them; by four in the Afternoon, he plainly perceived a large Town, and by six came to an Anchor right over against it; however, he did not send the Boat on Shore that Night, but next Morning he ordered Mr. *Baldwin* the third Mate, Mr. *Sale* the Purser, with the Molotto before-mentioned, who spoke the *Turkish* and *Arabian* Languages, to take the Yawl with four Hands, and to carry with them a white Flag, that they might appear to come in a friendly and peaceable Manner, charging them at the same Time to say or do nothing which might appear harsh or offensive. The Boat was no sooner in with the Shore, but the Natives flock'd as it were to meet them, and appeared very courteous: The Molotto spoke to them in *Arabian* Tongue, giving them to understand, that they were driven upon their Coasts by the Misfortune of having lost their Voyage, that they were in Want of Water, and begg'd they would shew them where they might be supplied, and that if they would think fit to furnish them with fresh Provision they would pay them in Money, or any Goods or Curiosities of *Europe*.

It happened the Language they spoke was a Kind of *Arabick*, so that the Molotto could discourse with them perfectly well; they answered him, that the King was absent from the City, and that they could do nothing till his Return, but that he would be there as that Night, for they had sent him Word of the coming of a Ship, as soon as it appeared in Sight. That however, they might assure themselves, that all they requested should be granted, and shewed them where there were several fine Springs of Water: These Springs being a pretty Way from the Water-side, and the Ground near them craggy and uneven; the Molotto told them it would be difficult to rowl their Casks so long a Way, and over such bad Ground, and ask'd them if there were not any Spring nearer the Sea. They answered them no, but that the King would give them Oxen to draw their Casks to the Boat; and so they returned on Board with a Present from the King's Son of a Sarne of mash'd Dates, a matted Jar of Sweet-Meats, and four Sheep.

Betimes the next Morning, being the 26th, the Captain sent the Yawl on Shore again with the same Officers, to know if the King was come, and to beg Leave to bring on Board some fresh Water, ordering them to make a Signal for the Long-Boat to be sent on Shore, in Case they obtained the Permission to water; the Yawl had not been long gone before the appointed Signal was made, and the Long-Boat was accordingly sent immediately; after which, the Captain perceived

the Yawl was returning back again to the Ship: She came with four Hands in her to advise the Captain, that the Long-Boat would immediately return with a Cow as a Present to him, and to put him in Mind, that it would be proper to send something back for a Present to the *Shubander*, (the Name by which they call the King's Son) with whom they, viz. the third Mate Mr. *Baldwin*, the Gunner, and the Molotto Interpreter, who served in the Ship as a Quartier, were gone to dine.

The Captain was surprized at their Indiscretion, and the more because he had ordered them, to be upon their Guard for Fear of Treachery, having furnished them with Arms for that Purpose, and charged them not to stir far from their Boat; however, there was no Remedy now, so that he sent the Yawl back again with a Present of a small Looking-glass (a great Curiosity there) for the Prince, ordering one Man to carry it, and to tell the Mate, Gunner, and Molotto to come off as soon as they could, the rest to lye a little off with the Yawl, their Arms ready, but out of Sight.

The Captain observing the Yawl with his Glass, perceived the Men contrary to his Orders were gone on Shore, and looking again a little after, saw the Boat without a Mast, or so much as one Hand in her, drag'd towards the Town quite on Shore, and in a little Time after she was hawl'd out of Sight.

This Rashness of his Men gave him a great Deal of Uneasiness, he apprehended some fatal Consequence from it, (and indeed he had Reason) for he knew the Natives of some Part of the Coast were Cannibals; therefore, for Fear of venturing too much at once, he resolved not to trust the Long-Boat on Shore, till he had some Tideings from the Yawl.

All that Day he pass'd with the utmost Uneasiness, keeping a Man continually on the Watch, looking towards the Shore with a Spying-glass, to try if any Thing could be discovered of his Men on the Shore, but all to no Purpose; for nothing could be discerned either of them or the Boat the whole Day. That Night was spent in many doubtful Reflections, and Tears for the Condition of those who were on Shore. Next Morning the Captain resolved to send the Long-Boat towards the Land, with Mr. *Nyn* his first Mate, and some other of his Officers in her, ordering them to shew a white Flag, as soon as they should discover any People to come near them; but not to venture to go ashore, but to talk and make Signs to the Natives out of the Boat, and to try to discover the Reason of our Mens being detained; and in Case they found they kept them Prisoners, or intended them for Slaves, to try by Means of the Molotto Interpreter to treat with them for their Ransom.

Mr. *Nyn* obey'd his Orders punctually, and when he came near the Land he lay by, with a white Flag display'd at the End of a Mast, at which Time he observed a great Body of People coming from the Town towards the Sea-Side;

the Captain could also discern them from the Ship with his Spying-glass, and judg'd them to be betwixt four and five Thousand, but instead of coming to parley, they marched in a Body behind a Bank, which stood opposite the Boat, where they lay in a Kind of Ambuscade, without returning any Signal, or shewing any Inclination to speak with the Boat.

This look'd plainly, as if they intended to surprize the Men, in Case they should venture to land; wherefore Mr. *Nyn* resolved to return on Board, and plying along Shore, in order to find the Passage thro' the Ridge of Rocks of Coral, which runs along ashore, the Natives let fly a Shower of Arrows at the Boat, which however did no Harm, because they fell short; upon which Mr. *Nyn* commanded his Men to fire their Arms towards the Banks, in order to frighten them, for being so intrench'd, he knew he could do them no Harm; after which he returned on Board.

The Captain now began to despair of ever seeing his Men more; the best he could think which could befall them, was, to be made Slaves, for still he did not apprehend that they had met with so melancholy and cruel a Fate, as their Confidence in the Natives had really brought upon them; he therefore resolved to make one Attempt more, in order to learn some News of what had befallen them: In order to which, he thought of a Stratagem, by which he should run no Hazard of losing any more of his Men, and by which it seemed probable he must hear of them if they were alive. He writ a Letter, which Letter he caused to be fix'd to the Top of a long Pole, which he ordered to be carried on Shore in the Silence of the Night; the Men were to fix the Pole in the Ground, and to make it the more conspicuous, there was a Flag also fastened to the Pole.

He did not doubt, but that if any of his Men had the Liberty of walking about, they would come for the Letter which they must see, and if they had not that Liberty, the Natives not being able to read it themselves, would carry it to them.

In this Letter he advised Mr. *Baldwin*, and Mr. *Sale*, the third Mate and Purser, to treat about their own Ransom themselves, and that of the five Men with them (including the *Molotto*) and since there was no other Way of procuring their Liberty, he would comply with the Terms, let them be what they would; he directed them to fix their Answer upon the same Pole, and least they should want Pen and Ink, he inclosed a Pencil, and also a Sheet of Paper. And in Hopes an Answer should be left, he commanded the Pole to be fix'd just at the Waters Edge, where there was no Bank near, that it might be taken off without the Danger of an Ambuscade.

This was the best Expedient he could think of, for relieving his unhappy Countrymen, who now, alas! were past all Relief. Accordingly the Boat was sent with the said Letter, and two of the Men went on Shore and fixed it, and having

returned into the Boat, the Boat put off, and came to an Anchor at some Distance from the Shore, in order to observe what should become of the Letter; they waited till Noon to no Purpose, then taking up their Anchor, in order to come on Board for some Refreshment, they were but a little while under Sail, when they saw a Man come and carry off the Pole; a little while after which, as they ply'd along the Shore, and were opposite to the Bank before described, they were saluted with a Volley of Musquet-Shot, one Ball falling into the Boat, and several others come very near it; wherefore, they made all the Sail they could to give the Captain an Account of what had pass'd.

The Fire Arms they made use of were these they found in the Boat, where they also met with six Cartouch Boxes full of Charges, and their making use of them in this Manner, convinced the Captain that they had no Mind to come to any Parley with them, or to listen to any Terms about the Release of their unhappy Ship Mates; however they were continually upon the Watch, looking out with wishing Eyes, in Expectation of seeing the appointed Signal made for the Answer of the Letter; long they expected to no Purpose, which made the Captain think something very fatal had happened to them, and that he should never see them more; but in the midst of his Despair, a Thought came into his Head, which administred to him a little Comfort, he fancied that perhaps they might be carried up the Country, to the Place where the King at that Time was gone, and that the Natives might send the Letter after them, which might be the Reason there was no Answer yet left. Upon this little Glimmering of Hope, he resolved to wait some Days longer, for he was willing to lay Hold of any Hope, rather than bear the Thoughts of going away without them.

Thus Day after Day they waited in Expectation of some Answer, sending the Boat to lye off near the Shore, to be ready in Case any Signal should be made.— One Day they perceived a great Number of People to come out of the Town, and make towards the Shore, which gave them an Expectation that the Delivery of their Friends was at Hand; they watched their Motions with earnest Eyes, hoping every Minute to see a Flag of Truce, instead of which, they observed them to march directly behind the Bank, where they seem'd to place themselves in a Kind of Ambuscade.

Now there seem'd to be an End of all their Hopes, the Boat return'd on Board, and made a Report to the Captain of what they saw, who calling a Consultation of all his Officers to hear if any Thing could be offered for the Relief of their Companions; it was proposed by one to send the Boat on Shore, to burn some Junks which were hawl'd up about a Musquet-Shot from the Water-side, but the Captain considered, that tho' this might gratifie their Revenge, it would bring no Relief to their poor captive Friends: On the contrary, the Natives might be

provoked to destroy them for it, if they had not done it already, besides as these Junks lay not far from the Bank, their Men might be exposed to the Arrows of the Natives (who now lay in continual Ambuscade) and so they might run the Hazard of losing more Men without the least Advantage to themselves, or unhappy Companions.

Wherefore, this Project was laid aside, and the Winds often blowing hard, and the Captain not judging it safe to lye any longer in that open Road, he weighed Anchor on the fourth of *December*, steering along ashore, in Search of some Bay or Inlet, where they might ride shelter'd from the Wind and Weather; and still with a View that if either their Companions might have an Opportunity of making their Escape, or the Natives should relent and think of letting them go for a Ransom, they might be near enough to receive them. After about three or four Hours gentle Sail he dropp'd an Anchor, the Town of *Magadoxa* then bearing N E b'E of them, they perceived it was all along a flat smooth Shore, without any Bay or other Shelter, for Ships to ride; wherefore, the next Day, which was the fifth of *December*, they stood off to Sea, and then came to a Consultation, what Measures to take in their present Condition; and having considered that they had met with no Place where they could ride with any Safety, and if they should meet with a convenient Bay much farther down the Coast, it would be of no Service to their unhappy Companions, who would never hear of them; and besides they could not venture to traffick with the Natives for Refreshments, for Fear of Surprize and Treachery; and their Men beginning to grow weak and distempered for want of fresh Provisions, they resolved to make for the Island of *Joanna*, being forced to leave their Companions to Providence, in great Trouble and Anxiety for their unhappy Fate.

We shall leave them to pursue their Voyage, which was happy enough, bating this Accident, and relate what had pass'd on Shore, as we had it from a Manuscript, written by the Molotto Interpreter, who was the only Person who escaped, and return'd to *England*, after he had lived sixteen Years amongst the Barbarians.

It has been already taken Notice that Mr. *Baldwin* the third Mate, and Mr. *Sale* the Purser (unhappily for them) not observing the Cautions the Captain gave them to be upon their Guard, were so indiscreet, to be tempted to accept of an Invitation to dine with the King's Son; so that having sent the Yawl on Board again, for a Present as has been related, they with the Molotto Interpreter went towards the Town, accompanied by several of the Natives, who made them the Invitation in the Name of the King's Son. They were no sooner arrived at the first Gate of the City, but they were surrounded by a great Multitude of People, and violently dragg'd into a little Door under the Gateway, and shut up in a dark

Hole. When they had remained here about the Space of two Hours, they heard a very great Noise without; soon after which, the Doors leading to their Dungeon were all opened, and they were dragg'd out again; when they were out, they found that what occasioned that great Noise, was the Return of their Men, whom they had sent on Board for a Present for the King's Son, who were seized in the same Manner they had been, and being encompassed by such a Number of People, they lost them in a Minute; they were also separated from one another, and the Molotto desiring to know of them the Meaning of all this, and in what they had offended them, they only answered him, that they must go before the *Accabo*, (the Name by which they call the King, who had not been out of Town as they gave out before) accordingly he was conducted with a sufficient Guard, expecting there to meet his Companions again.

When he arrived at the King's House (which shall be hereafter described) he was led thro' several Rooms to that where the King was present, whom he found sitting upon the Ground, the Floor being matted; he was dress'd in a long Pair of Drawers of blewish purple Silk, which reach'd down to his Toes, having neither Shoes nor Stockings on, a large Mantle of the same Silk, and a white Turbant on his Head; there were eight others who sat about him, whose Dress was the same with his, as to Form and Fashion, but their Drawers and Mantles were made of a blew and white strip'd Dungeree Stuff, instead of Silk; these were his Councillors and Favourites. The King spoke to him in a Kind of *Arabick*, asking of what Country he was? he answered of *Canton in China*. Then he ask'd him, how he came to associate himself with those horrid white Men? The poor Molotto began to tremble at this Question, but excus'd himself by speaking in their Favour, highly extolling them for their Civility of Behaviour, as well as Generosity, and praising them in all Things to the King, telling him, he was sure the Captain would ransom them, if it was his Pleasure to consent to it; to which he returned no Answer, but ask'd what the Ship had in her, the Molotto gave him an Account of her Lading; then he desired to know whether the rest of the Men would come on Shore, he answered, he could not tell, but in Case they were suffered to return again on Board, he was sure they would come on Shore, and that the Captain himself designed to come and see the King, as soon as they should return; but the King made no Offer of suffering that, but commanded him to be carried back to Prison.

The Prison which they call *Haulaub*, is a square Stone-Building, about twenty Foot high, and flat at Top, fronting one of their broadest Streets; there are no Windows or Iron Bars, as we see in our Prisons, but there are several little Holes about eight or nine Inches square, quite thro' the Wall, thro' which, the Place within receives both Light and Air. Here the poor Molotto was put, very anxious

about the Fate of his poor Companions, whom he had not seen since their being separated at their first coming out of the Dungeon; wherefore, seeing an old Man looking thro' one of the Holes before described, he enquired of him what was become of them, who gave him this melancholy Account; that those who came last out of the Boat, which were the four Sailors sent on Board the Ship for the Present for the King's Son, were kill'd in the Streets by the Multitude, and that making some Resistance, they were torn to Pieces, every Man thinking himself happy that could procure a Piece of their Flesh, shewing a Bit of about two Ounces, which he begg'd of one who had got a great Piece, which many of them eat; that they were all from their Childhood taught to have an Aversion to white Men, and that these were the first that had been seen in the Memory of Man, that as to the tall Man and the little Man which had been in the Dungeon with him (which were Mr. *Baldwin* and Mr. *Sale*, the Mate and Purser) they were by the King's Order carried to the *Boderzau* (a Place where Tygers and other fierce Beasts are kept for the King's Pleasure) and delivered up to be torn to Pieces by those Animals.

This was in Effect, the true Account of the most bloody Massacre that was committed upon these unhappy Men; the Story of which, it may be imagined, must throw the poor Molotto into the utmost Consternation and Fear, as imagining himself to be near suffering some cruel Death; sometimes he flattered himself that they would spare him, because of his being a Molotto, but on the other Side, when he reflected on his having given the white Men a good Character, he look'd upon himself to be a dead Man, thinking that alone was sufficient to destroy him.

Betwixt these Doubts and Fears he pass'd the Night, in a Place all covered with Nastiness, where there was not the least Conveniency for easing Nature, and where, had his Mind been at rest, it would have been hard for him to have slept. In the Morning a Man look'd thro' one of the Holes, and with great Joy in his Countenance, told him, there were more white Men coming on Shore; the Fellow did not relate it as good News to him, but told it for the Pleasure they should have in destroying more of them. The Molotto wish'd within himself, that he could have given Notice of what had pass'd, and some Advice to beware of themselves, but it was safest for him to keep his Wishes to himself; therefore he said nothing. Some Hours after he was sent to go again before the King; now he thought his Execution was at Hand, but when he was brought into the King's Presence, they put a Letter into his Hand, commanding him to tell what it meant, for that those who had come on Shore had stuck it upon a Pole, and went off before they could be spoke to. He saw at one Cast of an Eye, that it was from the Captain, who talk'd of Ransom, and a sudden Thought came into his Head, that

if he had explained it to the King, they would make him some Way instrumental, in decoying more of the Men on Shore, in order to murder them; and knowing his Companions to be past all Ransom, he said he did not know the Ways of the white Men, and could not understand what that meant. The King then ask'd him if he could persuade the white Men, who were at that Time lying at an Anchor, in their Boat some Distance from the Land, to come on Shore, he answered he would endeavour to do it, if it was his Pleasure; upon which the King whisper'd with some others, who were near him, but said no more of it, as being unwilling to trust him. And the Truth on't is, he designed to tell them what had pass'd, and if the Natives did not hold him fast, to throw himself into the Sea, and venture to swim to them, not doubting, but those in the Boat might with their Fire Arms, secure him from being pursued, but they gave no Opportunity of making the Attempt.

The King then call'd for one of the Fire-Arms, which had been taken in the Boat, and commanded him to shew them how they were to be used, which he was forced to do; and they made use of them soon after, by firing at the Boat as has been related. He was then carried back to Prison, and talking with the Jaylor (whom in their Language they call *Kasboo*) he ask'd him what he thought the King intended to do with him? The Jaylor answered, he was sure he did not intend to have him kill'd, as the white Men had been, because he had ordered him to give him Food; this News a little revived his drooping Spirits, accordingly he brought him some Plantanes and Bonanas, which was the first Nourishment he had taken since he came on Shore; and having refreshed himself therewith, and with an *Alabo* of Water, that is, a Vessel not unlike a Pitcher, he begg'd for something to clean the Place, the Jaylor brought him a Parcel of green Sticks tied together, which they call a *Tosee*, and serves for the Use of a Broom; with this and a Thing like a Shovel, he made a Shift to sweeten the Place pretty well; when it was done, he observed an old Man looking thro' one of the Holes at him, with whom he fell into Discourse, and enquired of him whether the Ship was gone, the old Man told him no, but that there was another Boat with white Men lying off the Land, and that there were great Numbers of People from the Town lying in Wait for their coming on Shore. He begg'd this old Man to get him a few Palmatu Leaves to lay on the Floor under him, which the old Man did, so that that Night he rested very comfortably to what he had done before.

The next Morning he was again sent for before the King, who ask'd him, if he could kill a *Coway* with one of those Musquets? he answered he could, and glad he was to be so employed, thinking by these Means he might please the King, at least gain his Favour so far, as to induce him to spare his Life. He was led out to the River-side, the King himself being in Company, and one of the Musquets

was put into his Hand, he took the Ball and beat it into a great Length, and then divided it into small Bits about the Size of Swan Shot, for he would not venture to shoot with a single Ball, not knowing but his Life might depend upon the Success of his Shoot, by these Means he kill'd one the first Shot. The King seemed very well pleased, and made him charge the Piece again in the same Manner, and taking it into his own Hands discharged it at another *Coway* which he also kill'd.

A *Coway* is a fine beautiful Bird larger than a Swan, and not much unlike it in Shape, the Body is as white as Milk, but the Tuft it wears on its Head, as also its Tail, are adorned with Variety of Colours, the Bill is a little crooked, and uneven, its Legs of a fine Yellow, but its Form is best expressed by the Figure. They are in great Plenty always living near the Water, hatching fourteen or fifteen young Ones at a Time, and set four Times a Year; they are excellent to eat, nor do they taste at all fishy.

After this, he was ordered back to his Prison, as he went along he ask'd the Jaylor (with whom he was now grown more familiar) what he thought the King intended to do with him. The *Kasboo* or Jaylor told him, he believed he intended to keep him there till the Ship (which they call a *Schabew*) and the white Men were gone, and that then he would order him to be releas'd from his Confinement, and employ him in some Service. The Jaylor seem'd to talk to him, and use him in a much kinder Manner than before; and when he arrived at the Prison, he brought him a *Patue* (in their Language a Dish) of boiled Rice with Oyl, which is look'd upon to be very good Food; he left him two large *Alaboes* or Pitchers of Water, sufficient to drink and to clean his Kennel, after which, he took a comfortable Nights Rest.

The poor Fellow now began to wish that the Ship was gone, since he had no Prospect of making his Escape, and that their Departure would procure him greater Liberty. Next Morning seeing the old Man who had furnish'd him with the *Palmatu* Leaves, looking thro' one of the Holes at him, he enquired of him, whether the Ship was still in Sight? He told him it was, that there were still great Numbers of People lying behind the Bank, having with them those Things which were taken in the Boats, describing the Musquets, and great Numbers of Arrows, ready to shoot if they should either Land, or come near enough with their Ship; he begg'd of him to let him know what should happen, and particularly to inform him when the Ship should go off: The old Man whose Name was *Morasab*, seem'd obliging and kind, and promised him to do so, and that he would return towards Night (which in their Language they call *Raham*.)

A little after the *Kasboo* or Jaylor came in, bringing some *Plantanes* and *Bonana's* to him for his Breakfast, and opened a Door which went into a little

back Yard, where there was a Spring of fine fresh Water, bidding him draw what Water he pleased in his *Alabo*es, and clean his Prison, leaving the Place open to him for that Purpose, there being no Way for him to get out; towards Evening he came to him again, bringing him some boyl'd Rice and Oyl, and then he shut up the Door before described, and leaving him Water enough, left him for that Night.

Morasab appeared at one of the Holes according to his Promise, acquainting him, that the Ship remained still in the same Station, and that the Boat had not been seen near the Land that Day. Next Morning *Morasab* came again, and with great Joy told him, the Ship was then going off, being under Sail; a little after the *Kasboo* or Jaylor came in as usual, bringing some boyl'd Rice, and gave him the same Account of the Ship.

Tho' he despaired now of ever getting off, yet he expected to be enlarged from his Prison, and enjoy Liberty, the sweetest Thing to Man. In the Evening *Morasab* came again to let him know, that the Ship was almost out of Sight, and that the King had sent a Party of Men to the East, and another to the West, to watch the Coast, and lye in Wait for the white Men, in Case they should Land any where else for Water or to get Provisions. The next Day he came again and gave him Notice, that Word had been brought to the King that the Ship had been seen again a great Way off to the Westward, but that the Men had not come on Shore; and the Day following he visited him again, with an Account, that News was brought to the King that the Ship was gone off again, and sail'd out of Sight.

Upon this, he expected to be immediately releas'd from his Confinement, yet he was kept close to his Prison ten Days longer; the Reason as he afterwards found, was, least the Ship might be hovering somewhere upon the Coast, and having his Liberty he might find an Opportunity of escaping to her; but when they seem'd pretty well assured that the Ship was quite gone off, the King sent for him, and ask'd him, if he should give him his Liberty, whether he would attempt to escape? He promised he would not, and indeed any Attempt now would have been in Vain, for to escape would have been a Thing impossible; upon which, the King appointed him to attend upon his Person, and to live with his other Servants, giving him Orders at the same Time not to go out of the City.

There was nothing at all uncomfortable in the Life he led here, for the Service was easy, having very little to do; his chief Business was carrying up the Pataes or Dishes for the King's Dinner, who eat upon the Ground, the Floor being sometimes covered with a Mat instead of a Cloth, and sometimes bare without any Thing; the Diet was generally boiled Rice, with broiled Meat, sometimes Venison, sometimes wild Goat; as also Fowl of all Sorts, which are smaller than those of *Europe*, but of an excellent Taste; they have also several Fowl not

known to us; their Beef and Mutton are both excellent, but small; they also had Variety of Fish which they dress, either by boiling or broiling, as for Sawce, the King himself had none, except *Kajan*, Pepper, for they eat most of their Things very hot, and boiled Rice is what serves them instead of Bread.

Thus he lived in Plenty, eating as much as he would of what was left, when the King had done Dinner, so that few People as to Eating and Drinking tasted so great a Variety as he did; the Diet of the common Sort of People, consists generally of Plantanes, Bonana's, boiled Rice (which they call *Pasida*) and Oil, and a Dish they call *Kaja*, which is Plantanes and Rice boiled together, sometimes indeed they have Venison and wild Goat, which they kill themselves, but whatever it is, they eat it out of the Crock it is boiled in, for none but those of great Condition have the Use of *Pataes* or Dishes; if it be broiled, whether it be Fish or Flesh, they eat it off the Coals, and to avoid burning their Fingers, they take a Bit of green Stick which they break half through, and so bending it together, it serves the Use of a Pair of Tongues as well as a Fork, in turning the Meat upon the Coals as well as taking it off when it is ready. As for Knives and Forks the King himself is not acquainted with the Use of them; so that he pulls his Meat to Pieces with his Fingers, which is generally so well done that it requires no great Labour.

It was about two Months before he ventured to stir abroad beyond the Palace; but one Day one of the Servants who had Business about the City, ask'd him to go along with him, and in Discourse told him, the King would not be displeas'd, if he should go out often; upon this Encouragement he used to walk about the City almost every Day, chusing the Time when the King went to sleep, which was constantly his Practice every Afternoon. He took this Liberty three or four Months together, sometimes being absent several Hours without receiving the least Reprimand; he made an Acquaintance with several in the City, and had Leisure to satisfie his Curiosity, in observing every Thing that appeared new and strange, to one who had lived so long amongst the *Europeans*.

The City of *Magadoxa* lies (as has been observ'd) in the Latitude of one Degree and fifty one Minutes: It is built betwixt two Hills or rather on the Sides of two Hills, the greatest Part of it standing on the Declivity of that Hill next the Sea, so that there is scarce any of it to be seen by any Ship in the Road, or that passes by, which indeed are but few; for scarce any ever touch there, except driven by 'Stress of Weather, as was the Case of the *Albemarle*. They have no Vessels of their own, except a few employ'd in Fishing, which they call Juncks, and not above ten or twelve of those; and tho' some of them are large enough to carry thirteen or fourteen Ton, they never venture far from the Land.

The City contains betwixt three and four thousand Houses, some built of

rough Stone, others of Marble, of which they have many Quarries, extreamly fine, and of various Colours, but they want the Art of polishing it; but the most esteemed and most expensive Houses, are those of rough Stone covered over with a Kind of Plaister, which is peculiar to this Country; after it is laid on, it is not above three Days in drying, and grows as hard and durable as the Stone itself; but the greatest Curiosity of it is, that they can make it of what Colour they please; and as the Houses of all Persons of Condition are covered with it, it has a mighty pretty Effect to the Eye, for some have their Houses white, others red, some yellow, and some blue, that of the King was green, while the Inside is floor'd with the same Plaister, the Rooms all differing in Colour from each other, which Variety makes the City appear very beautiful, tho' the Streets are very narrow and very nasty.

Notwithstanding the Houses look so bright without Side, their Furniture within consists of very little more than Cobwebs, for they have neither Tables, Chairs, nor Glasses, they have indeed Matts which serve them instead of Table-Cloths by Day, and Beds by Night, upon which they lie without either Pillow or Bolster, with a Covering of Mokaz or thick Dungeree over them, which is so call'd from a Tree of that Name, of the Bark of which it is made, which being beaten, is drawn into long Threads, and wove or rather work'd with fine Needles made of Wood, either thick or thin, according to which it is intended; and to such a Perfection are they arrived in this Sort of Manufacture, that they can make it as smooth, and as soft, as a Piece of *English* Broad-Cloth, and much stronger.

We should have observed that they have no such Things as Glass-Windows to their Houses, however there are either large round or square Vacancies in every Room to receive both Air and Light; these Sort of Windows are covered generally all Day with Shutters of thick Plank, in which many Holes are bored, in order to keep out the Heat of the Sun. As for Chimneys they have no such Thing: In all great Houses there is a Room appropriated for the Dressing the Victuals, where the Fire is made in a Corner upon the Ground, and those that are employ'd in that Service must be well smoaked. The common People frequently make their Fires without Doors, for Rice and Fish they never eat without some Sort of Dressing, but Flesh, to save Trouble and Fire, they frequently eat raw.

The King maintains nothing which has the State or Air of a Court, having no Guards about his Person, so that he frequently walks abroad in the Streets in the Dress before described, without either Shoes or Stockings: All those that meet him pass him by, and go on upon their Business without shewing him any external Mark of Respect; nay so little a Notion have they of Ceremony, that it is common for Persons of both Sexes to ease Nature in the Streets, perhaps when

the King is passing by, and yet he is as well obey'd as any Prince in the World.

The Nobility walk about in as careless a Manner as the King, and are known by their Turbants; the better Sort of the common People wear Caps of various Colours, the Rest go intirely naked.

The Queen also walks about the Streets without either Guards or Attendants, and would pass as unregarded as the King, were it not that the Gaiety of her Dress must draw the Eyes of the Spectators; she commonly wears a Garment of either purple or green Silk, which being tied about her Waste reaches down to her Heels, with Variety of white, red, and green Feathers artfully disposed in her Hair, however she is bare-footed like the Rest, whilst all the poorer Sort of the Sex go quite naked, without thinking they carry any Thing about them they ought to be ashamed of.

The Wives of the Men of Condition indeed all wear Clothes, and are dress'd in the same Fashion with the Queen, tho' not all so gay or so rich; but whatever their Habits may be, they take Care always to shew their naked Breasts, which hang down to their Bellies, if they have had any Children; and which we suppose is look'd upon as a Beauty, by their taking Care to expose them to View; they also paint the Nipples red, which is the only Art they use in setting off their Persons; they bring their Children into the World with little or no Pain, and without an Hour's Confinement from the common Occupations of Life.

The only Occasion when the King appears with any Thing that looks like Pomp or Magnificence is, when he rides abroad to take the Air, then he is mounted upon one of his Elephants, with his Favourites and Companions about him; they have a Way of fixing upon the Back of the Elephant, a Frame of Boards about eight or ten Foot Square, on which, he, with such as he carries with him to bear him Company, sit as commodiously as if in a Room, whilst two of his Servants on Foot conduct the Beast; yet even here, tho' he goes thro' any Crowd of People, no Man stops to do him Homage, or to pay him any Sort of Obedience, nor does he seem to expect it, having no Notion, that the Subjects are to be kept in Awe by the Shew of Grandeur which surrounds their Prince: A Mark of good Sense, beyond what is to be met with in the Courts of *European* Princes.

His Way of maintaining an inward Respect in the Hearts of the People which they have Sense enough to know, is preferable to that External which consist only in Shew and Appearance, and sometimes conceals Contempt and Hatred at Bottom, is by doing Justice in his Person, according to the best of his Judgment and Capacity; he is himself both King and Judge, and decides all Disputes betwixt Man and Man (which indeed are very few) by a personal Hearing of the Cause of Complaint. He is assisted by seven or eight Persons, who always sit

about him for that Purpose, and may be called his Councillors; nor was it ever so much as suspected that any of these, either for Bribe, or Reward, or Promise, endeavoured to influence the King in his Judgment.

It rarely happens that any Persons is condemn'd to die; for as every Thing they feed on, except Rice, Plantanes, Oil, &c. is acquired by hunting and fishing, there are few Occasions for Theft amongst them; however, when any Person has merited that Punishment, the common Way of executing is, by throwing the Criminal, into the Den (which they call *Bodizaw*) amongst the wild Beasts, such as Tygers, Leopards, and Crocadiles which are kept hungry before-hand for that Purpose.

There are many other Creatures kept in that *Bodizaw* or Den which are peculiar to this Country, such as the *Augazet*, which is the largest of all their Beasts, except the Elephant; it is of a white or rather yellowish Colour, with Streaks of Black running like Veins all over it, and also black Spots, the Face is not unlike that of a Cat, it has long sharp Claws; when it is wild, it is extreamly fierce, but may be rendered as gentle and tractable as a Household Dog.

A *Bozee* is an amphibious Creature, which always lives by the Sides of Rivers, and feeds principally upon Fish; it has a long Bill, and in all Respects the Shape and Form of a Bird, but wants Wings to fly, and instead of Feathers, is covered all over with a hard Scale resembling the Bark of a Tree, and so tough that an Arrow will not enter it; their Legs are very thick and scaled in the same Manner with their Bodies, having sharp Claws to their Feet; the Natives are more afraid of this Creature than of any other in the whole Country, especially, if they are obliged to travel any where by Night, near the Sides of Rivers, for they say it is so fierce and voracious, that it will seize either Man or Beast.

The *Massau* is another amphibious Creature, very large, whose Body is scaly like that of the *Bozee*, but it is of a different Colour, being reddish; the Bill also differs from that of the *Bozee*, for it is short and shaped like that of a Pidgeon; It is a timorous Creature, that upon hearing the least Noise immediately rushes for the Water; its Food is chiefly Weeds.

A *Sachew* is a Beast about the Size of a large Lion, of a dark brown Colour, with Shades of black all over the Body, and a Scale down his Back as hard as Horn, the Eyes are extreamly fierce, and in all Respects a terrible Creature to look at, but yet a Child would frighten it.—At the Sight of any human Creature it flies with great Swiftnes to the Woods.

One of the King's Diversions is, to go to this *Bodizaw* or Den of wild Beasts to see them play; they are perfectly under the Command of their Keepers, and are taught to play Tricks like Dogs; nay, it is almost his only Diversion, unless sleeping half the Day can be called a Diversion. As for riding out upon his

Elephants, as we took Notice before, he does it so seldom, it can scarce be reckon'd amongst his Pleasures.

Ease, Plenty, and the Heat of the Climate have render'd the People in general inclined to be slothful, they have no Trade with the Neighbouring Nations, nor do they desire to have any; it is true, they have a little Sort of Traffick amongst themselves, as those that hunt and shoot Goats, Venison, &c. give them often in Exchange for Dungeree Stuffs; they have also Gold and Silver amongst themselves, but very base;—they don't seem inclined to Cruelty, unless against white Men, whom they are taught to hate, tho' they scarce ever see any; but there is a Kind of historical Tradition amongst them (for they have no Books) that their Country was once invaded by white Men, who committed many Cruelties upon them, and indeed it is likely that the *Portuguese* might formerly have landed amongst them, while they were making their *India* Discoveries, and perhaps might have treated them like Slaves, from whence comes this Tradition, and which is the Case of their inbred Hatred to white Men to this Day.

Thus the Molotto had Leisure to divert himself with observing the Customs and Manners of these strange People, who have no Commerce or Communication with the Rest of the World. One Day as he was walking in the City, he was extreamly surpriz'd and terrified at the Sight of a Bird of a monstrous Size, which stalk'd close by him in the Street: It was what they call a *Pyone*, but he had never seen one of them before, so that tho' it is tame and inoffensive, it is no Wonder he should be frighten'd at it.

A *Pyone*, as to Shape, differs from all Birds amongst us; their Colour is a whitish brown, and in the Pinion of each Wing they have five black, and five scarlet Feathers, very broad, and above a Foot long; their Legs are of a bright red, something small for so large a Body, and above three Foot in Length; their Necks are also extreamly long, so that from the Foot to the Top of their Heads they are generally ten Foot in Heighth; they breed in the Mountains, never sit on more than two Eggs at a Time, which always produce a Male and Female: The People catch them when they are young, and let them loose in the Streets, taking Pleasure in the Sight of them, for they do no Mischief, and feed on any Thing they can pick up.

He was so encouraged by this Indulgence which was shew'd him, that he thought he might go where he pleased, and that the Restriction which was laid upon him, was as good as taken off; wherefore, he was tempted by his Curiosity one Day to walk out of the City, and was seen by a great many People. The Day following the *Accabo* or King, with a stern Countenance, ask'd him if he had been out of the City? He was so terrified at his Looks, knowing also, that he had been commanded not to take that Liberty, that he was not able to answer: The

King's Son who was present, smilingly ask'd him, why he did not speak? This recovered him a little from his Astonishment, so that he had the Courage to own he had; then the King with a more pleasing Aspect, desired to know of him, whether he had been to see his *Moorzacks*, or Tombs, he answered no; tho' he had a great Desire of seeing them, because he had heard much Talk of them. So the Thing pass'd over without any farther Reprimand for this Time.

The next Day in the Afternoon, the King rid out on an Elephant in the Manner before described, ordering the Molotto to attend him, and went to visit the *Moorzacks*, or Monuments of his Ancestors, which are situated about three or four Miles from the City: The Magnificence and Beauty of these Tombs, are almost incredible, considering that it is in a Country of *Barbarians* that they are made; the Molotto was greatly surprized at their extraordinary Grandeur; the King took Notice of his Astonishment, and was not displeased at it, and enquiring of him how he liked them, the Molotto answered, he had never seen any Thing equal to them, in all his Life, and that he believed Strangers would travel from all Parts of the World to see them, did they but know such Things were there. The King then enquired of him concerning the Tombs of the white Men, and ask'd several Questions about the Ceremonies used in Funerals in all the Countries he had been in; the Molotto gave him the best Account he could, still extolling the Beauty of these Monuments above those of all the World. The King then enquired of him whether he knew how Gunpowder was made, he answered no; that it was made by the white Men, and that he was but little acquainted with their Ways. He answer'd in this Manner, knowing that if he should speak with Respect of white Men, it might do him some Prejudice, because of the Aversion he found they had towards them. Upon the whole, the King appeared pleased with the Conversation of this Day, and the Molotto fancied he should grow into Favour.

But two or three Days after, an Accident happened which put him again into a Fright, going out to walk as usual, he ventured as far as the *Moorzacks*, or Tombs, for he took a singular Pleasure in the Sight of them. It happened in the mean Time that they wanted him, he was not to be found in the King's House, or about the City; upon which, there were several Persons sent in Search of him different Ways, one of them found him among the *Moorzacks*, or Tombs, and brought him home, he was dismally frightened, when he understood the King's Displeasure; wherefore, as soon as he came into his Presence, he fell down upon his Face, as is practiced by those with whom he is displeased. The King ask'd him in an angry Tone where he had been? he answered at the *Moorzacks*, or Tombs; then the King enquired of those that had been sent in Search of him, whether it was true, they assured him they had found him there; upon hearing of

which, he seemed to be immediately pacified, and said to him (*Korah*) which signifies properly to rise, but is never said, except when he forgives. Then the King ask'd him, if he would not attempt to run away, provided he should appoint him to live constantly among the Guards, who were maintained for watching those Monuments? he answered no; and that he should be pleased to pass the Remainder of his Days in so delightful a Place, without ever having a Wish for seeing his own Country again.

For this Time he was dismiss'd, but next Day being call'd up before the King, he was told that he must go to the *Moorzacks*, or Tombs, there to wait and do Duty as one of the Guards; there was a *Bamzau* or Priest sent along with him, who was to instruct him in his Duty there. On the Way as he went, the *Bamzau* or Priest told him, that he must live constantly among the Monuments, and that he would have Meat, Drink, and Lodging provided for him without any Trouble, that he must not take the Liberty of coming to the City, or going beyond the Bounds prescribed, which the Rest of the Guards whom they call *Passaus* would shew him; that he must be obliged to watch every second Night, to take Care that the Lamps which burnt in the Tombs were supplied with Oil, and never went out, and to keep the Tombs from any Filth or Nastiness.

When they arrived at the Place, the *Bamzau* or Priest commanded all the *Passaus* or Guards to be called together, acquainting them that the King had sent this Molotto amongst them to do the same Duty, and ordered one whom he called out from amongst the Rest, to return to the King with him, it being the King's Pleasure that the Molotto should supply his Place. This was readily obeyed, and they departed together.

The *Passaus* or Guards received him civilly enough, they immediately began Acquaintance with him, explaining to him all the Particulars of their Duty, and shewed him the Bounds within which he was to confine himself; telling him if he pass'd those Limits, they must be obliged to kill him. This Order seemed a little too severe, but he fancied it was only said to terrify him, least he should take it into his Head to attempt an Escape; he flattered himself so for two Reasons, First, because of the Indulgence which had been shewn him when he ventured to exceed his Orders in going out of the City; and secondly he took Notice that the *Bamzau* or Priest spoke to the *Passaus* or Guards apart, which he fancied was instructing them to keep him in Ignorance as to the Truth of their Orders; they brought some boiled Rice and Oil cold, and told him he must watch that Night, because it was the Turn of the Person in whose Place he was come; in order to which, they brought him a Watch-Coat made of Hair, which they work very curiously with Needles, so that the whole Coat is of one entire Piece without a Seam; it hangs from the Shoulders down to the Ground, but has no

Sleeves, so that it is more like a Cloak than a Coat.

The Sun being set, which is the Time they enter upon the Watch, every two Men began to fix their *Pohalick*, over against the Door of the *Moorzack* they were to watch; but to understand this Matter, it will be necessary to explain what a *Pohalick* is,—A *Pohalick* is a Kind of a Tent, contrived to shelter them from the Inclemencies of the Weather, for the Nights are sometimes very cold there, especially if it rains; wherefore, they take four Poles of about eight Foot long, which, instead of fixing in the Ground, are plac'd in four Stone-Sockets, placed on Purpose, opposite to each *Moorzack*, for that Use, with Cross-Poles reaching from one to the other; but instead of Canvass they hang over it a Covering of Palmatu Leaves sewen together; the two oldest Standers have their Post opposite to the King's *Moorzack*, the Rest are posted according to their Seniority, for they are exact Observers of the Rules of Precedence; the youngest also in each *Pohalick*, fetches Wood for Fire, which is also absolutely necessary, as well to keep off the Musketoos which would be, otherwise, very troublesome, as to correct the Damps. As soon as the Sun rises, he also takes down the *Pohalick*, sweeps up the Ashes very clean, which remain of the Fire, and carries them away, that the Place may appear perfectly neat. It is his Duty also to go to the *Bankoos* (so they call the Steward of the *Moorzacks*) for the Provision of the Day, which he is afterwards to dress both for himself and his Comrade.

This Part of the Duty was not disagreeable to the Molotto, for having no Books to read, he would have grown melancholly for Want of something to divert his Time, had he been entirely idle; their Allowance of Provision was sufficient, and very good in its Kind. On *Sundays* and *Tuesdays* it was Flesh, either Beef, Mutton, or Goat, and Rice for Bread. On *Wednesdays*, Kaja (we have already told what that is) *Mondays* and *Fridays*, Fish and Plantanes. *Thursdays* and *Saturdays* Plantanes, Rice, and Oil. Their Fish was excellent in its Kind, but they usually dress'd it without taking out the Guts, and which they eat with it instead of Sauce, but the Molotto corrected this Part of their Cookery, and having gutted the Fish before he broiled it, he found his Comrades very well pleas'd, and they always managed it so after.

While he pass'd his Life here pleasantly enough, one Day the *Accabo*, or King, sent a Guard to fetch him to the City; he was extreemly frightened at this unexpected Turn, and enquired of those that conducted him, into the Meaning of it, but they could give him no Account of it, but hurried him along very quick; when they arriv'd at the City, they did not carry him before the *Accabo*, or King, as he expected, but conducted him strait to the *Haulob*, or Prison, where he had been before confined. He had not been there above two Hours when his old Friend *Morasab* came to make him a Visit, whose Opinion he ask'd concerning

his Confinement, *Morasab* told him, he judged it to be for no other Reason, than because there had been a *Schabew*, or Ship, seen that Morning at a great Distance off the Coast, that there were Men on the Hills then watching of her, and others lying in Wait to surprize any that should attempt to come on Shore. While they were in Discourse, the *Kasboo* or Jaylor came in with some boiled Rice and Fish, and confirmed what *Morasab* had told him, and cheared him up by assuring him, that no Harm was intended him, that he was only confined to prevent his making his Escape. The *Molotto* knowing that every Thing he should say, would be told again the King, because any Person may speak to him with the utmost Freedom at any Time, except when he is sitting in Judgment, told the *Kasboo*, that he had given over all Thoughts of visiting his native Country more, having neither Wife nor Children; nor was he desirous of seeing any other Part of that Country, having taken a firm Resolution to obey the Orders very punctually of never going beyond the Limits of the *Moorzacks*; the *Kasboo* told him, that if he had any Value for his Life, it would be best for him to do so, for if he should at any Time be catch'd attempting any Escape, he would be served just as the white Men had been, the *Molotto* answered he should deserve it, since the King had been so gracious to him, not only to give him his Life, but to appoint him to live in a Place which he liked above any Thing he had ever seen.

All this Discourse was reported that Night to the King, the Consequence of which was, that he was sent for the next Morning; the first Question the King ask'd him was, whether that *Shabew* or Ship which had appear'd in Sight, was the same in which he came? He answered, he could not tell, unless he was to see it, (but that could not be done now, for she was gone off without coming to an Anchor, or sending her Boat on Shore.) The King then ask'd him, whether he had a Desire to return back to the *Moorzacks*? He answered, it was what he longed for of all Things, and repeated the same Things concerning the Pleasure he took in that Place, which he had done before to the *Kasboo*; he found this tickled the King's Vanity, and put him into good Humour, wherefore, he commanded him to be conducted back, whither he arrived with a much lighter Heart than he left it, having the Satisfaction also of seeing his Comrades mighty well pleas'd at his safe Return amongst them.

Here he pass'd his Time without any Care, having every Thing provided for him, being at Leisure all the Day long to divert himself as he would, for except taking his Watch in his Turn, he had nothing to do, but to clean the *Moorzacks* every new Moon, both within and without, and to take Care that the Lamps around them should be supplied with Oil, and never go out.

He observ'd his Companions employed their Leisure Time all in some Work, most of them in making some little Curiosities, which the Towns-People used to

walk out, and buy of them, and which enabled them to purchase Liquor and other Things they had an Inclination for; his Comrade in particular used to amuse himself with making Fishing-Nets, but these Nets are very different from those used in *Europe*, they are made of Sea-Grass, wove out into a certain Length, and the Fisherman before he uses them, fastens to them a certain Number of Hooks (for they are ignorant of the Art of contriving Nets to catch Fish without Hooks) his Comrade with a great Deal of Ease used to make one of these a Week, and he observing how he work'd them, did not doubt but he could do the same; therefore he begg'd of his Comrade to give him a little of his Sea-Grass, with which he began to make Trial, and succeeded so well, that in a few Days he finished a Net, which he truck'd away for a Quantity of Sea Grass.

He was now set up for a new Trade, and was so industrious in it, that he work'd his Nets with much more Curiosity than any of his Partners, and of Consequence had better Business; so that in a little Time he was able to purchase a Piece of Dungeree Linnen with his own Earnings, of which he made himself a Wastecoat after the *English* Fashion, and a Pair of long Drawers; but he had not worn them above a Day or two when the *Bankoo*, or Steward of the *Moorzacks*, commanded him to leave off the Wastecoat, that he might appear like the rest, who wore nothing but a Piece of any Stuff they could get, about their Wastes, to cover their Nakedness.

Upon the whole, he found he should have no great Occasion to provide for his Back, which occasioned his being less diligent in his Work; however, he purchased a *Mohaz* Covering to keep him warm in the Night, with the *Bankoo's* Permission, and happening to talk sometimes with his Comrades about Nets, and describing how they were made in *Europe*, the *Bankoo* asked him if he could make one in the same Manner? But finding he was not to lay out his Earnings to please himself, he answered, he could not; however, an Accident fell out soon after which brought him into great Favour.

As it was Part of his Duty to go to the *Bankoo's* generally in the Morning, for the Allowance of Provision for the Day for himself and Comrade, he observed, that tho' their Allowance was sufficient in all other Respects, it was very short as to Salt. One Day, when they had Plantanes, Rice and Oil, he begg'd hard for a little more Salt, but the *Bankoo* told him it could not be done without defrauding some of the rest, for Salt is exceeding scarce amongst them, having no Way of making it, nor any Way of providing it but by searching among the Rocks, near the Sea Side, where they pick it up in Bits about the Bigness of a Nut, and sometimes larger; here Nature makes it by the continual beating of the Sea in one Place; but the Quantities they are able to procure this Way are very small; wherefore, finding himself disappointed, he happened to say, that if he was at Liberty he could make Salt as plenty in *Magadoxa* as it was in *Europe*. The *Bankoo* the same Day acquainted the *Accabo* with what he had said, so that the next Day he was sent for: He was no sooner arrived in the Presence of the *Accabo* but he immediately asked him if he could make Salt? He answered, he believed he could, (and the Truth on't was he had often seen it made.) At the same Time he described the Manner of making it. The *Accabo* immediately order'd him to go to Work, and to have what Assistance he requir'd; he did so, and was so industrious and successful in it, that in six Months Salt was as plenty amongst them as any where else.

The *Accabo* sent for him again, and inquired of him concerning Fishing-Nets, as they were used in *Europe*: He described them to him; upon which he asked

him if he could make one of them? He had been asked the same Question before by the *Bankoo*, and denied that he had any Skill that Way; but considering with himself now that since he was likely to pass his whole Life amongst these People, it was his Business to gain their Favour all the Ways he could, he answered, he never had made any; however, if he (the *Accabo*) thought fit, he would try and do the best he could.

The *Accabo* seemed mightily pleased with his Willingness, and asked him if he should want any to assist him? He answered he should, and desired eight Persons to be employed in Spinning, and six in Knitting. These People were to follow his Directions, accordingly they fell to Work, and, in the Space of two Months, finished a Net eighty Fathom long.

When it was finished the *Accabo* himself had a Mind to see what Effect it would have beyond their own Nets; accordingly he went on board one of their Junks, attended by his Favourites, having with him also several of their most experienced Fishermen: They had the good Luck to take a good Number of Fish the first Hawl, among which were several Sorts they had never before seen, being such Fish as will not take the Hook, and such as always keep deep in the Water. The *Accabo* appeared highly contented with this Success, and ordered several more of them to be made, which could be done without him now that he had shewn them a Way, so that Fish soon became infinitely more plenty than ever it had been before.

The *Molotto* expected no less than to be rewarded with some extraordinary Recompence for the publick Services; the least Favour he thought could be granted him would be to give him the Liberty of a Freeman, and to let him live as an Inhabitant of the City, and to get his living amongst them, by any Sort of Industry he could; but he found himself greatly mistaken, for all his Reward consisted in being sent back to the *Moorzacks*, upon the same Foot he had been before.

It is true, he passed his Time here with a great deal of Tranquility, and began to reconcile himself to the Thoughts of remaining there his whole Life, he was convinced that nothing he could do to ingratiate himself, would procure him any Favour or Liberty; and an Accident fell out which gave him a terrible Notion of their Severity: One of the *Passaus* or Guards, on a Night when it was not his Turn to be upon the Watch, went privately into the City, contrary to Orders, and returned again before it was Day, but not so privately but he was seen by some Person, who went and discovered it to the *Accabo*; the Consequence of which was, that he was sent for under a Guard the next Morning, and, being brought into the King's Presence, was, without any more Ceremony, executed in the following Manner: He was obliged to kneel down, leaning his Head forwards,

whilst the Executioner, with a heavy Bar of Timber, struck him on the lower part of his Head, and beat out his Brains.

This Example so terrified the poor Molotto, that in fifteen Years he was in that Place he never ventured beyond the Limits, except when he was sent for by the *Accabo*, or to attend a Burial, which he was obliged to do when any of the *Passaus* or Guards died, for they were not buried among the *Moorzacks*, no more than any of the other of the common People.

But it is Time that we describe this Place, which is not only the greatest Curiosity of this Country, but would pass for a Piece of Magnificence in those Nations where Arts and Sciences are known, and it is fit to be the more particular in it, as it may appear strange, that those People who are Barbarians in all other Respects, should observe so much Pomp and Decoration in their funeral Ceremonies.

This burying Place, which they call *Hoynatz*, is pleasantly situated in a beautiful Valley between two Hills, about two *English* Miles from the City of *Magadoxa*; there are in it twenty nine *Moorzacks*, or Tombs, all which were first built by the Kings, at whose Expence the *Passaus* or Guards are kept, their being four to each *Moorzack*, who watch two and two by Turns, who take Care of the Lamps, which continually burn within, and keep every Thing clean to the greatest Nicety.

Tho' these *Moorzacks* may be said properly all to belong to the King, yet several other Persons of the first Rank are buried in them, by the King's special Favour, for he sometimes gives a *Moorzack* to some Favourite, as a burying Place for his Family; notwithstanding which Gift, when any of the said Family dies, the King's Permission must be asked anew for burying him in the *Moorzack*, the Reason is, that it frequently happens that when a Person who has this Kind of Right to be buried in a *Moorzack* disoblige the King, he takes no Notice of it as long as the Party lives; but when he dies, he forbids him to be buried in the *Moorzack*, by way of Punishment.

This may shew what a Veneration they have for these Places, when they seem to think that all Happiness, as well as Honour, consisted in laying the Body after Death in one of these *Moorzacks*; and, indeed, it is one of the chief Pleasures of the King, as well as of the common People to visit these Places often, which they do with a Kind of religious Respect.

The largest *Moorzack* or Tomb of all is the King's own, no other Person being ever buried therein; it is eighty Foot square, built of black and white Marble mix'd, with a Kind of Cupola at Top, and over it a long Spire, the Inside, both Floor and Sides, is white Marble curiously polished, and the Cieling or Cupola painted green: There are in it forty five *Boozes* of Gold, standing on as many

Pedestals of black Marble, of about four Foot high.

A *Booze* is a kind of round Pot with a Cover, about eight Inches deep, and five Diameter, in which are placed the Ashes of the Dead of those that are deposited there; I say the Ashes, because the Bodies are first burned.

There are also sixteen large Lamps of Gold, with nine Lights to each, four in a Corner, and one large one in the Middle, with two Lights; the large ones are never lighted but at Funerals, when they make a fine Shew, but that in the Middle burns constantly.

By the forty five *Boozes*, wherein are deposited the Ashes, it may be conjectured that as many of their Kings lie there, and so the Molotto was informed.

The second for Largeness belongs to the *Cossues* or Queens, (for, it must be observed, that the Males and Females are never buried in the same *Moorzack*;) It is built all of white Marble, and is fifty nine Foot square, the inside Wall exactly the same with the outside, but the Floor is of black and white Marble laid in Squares, much like what may be seen in Noblemens Houses in *Europe*. There are fifty six *Boozes* of Gold, standing on black Marble Pedestals; there are twelve large Lamps, each with seven Lights, three in each Corner, and one of Silver in the Middle, which burns constantly, as in the King's.

The third belongs to the *Acobibs*, or Princes; it is also built of white Marble; its Form is exactly round, being seventy nine Foot in Circumference; there are in it fifty three *Boozes* standing on black Marble Pedestals, with thirteen Lamps of Silver with seven Lights each; twelve of them are plac'd in a circular Form, and the thirteenth in the Middle, which burns constantly, the Cieling is painted green.

The fourth belongs to the *Matotzes* or Princesses; It is built of a greenish Marble, vein'd with black, being of a circular Form like that of the *Acobibs* or Princes, and much about the same in Circumference; the inside Wall is of white Marble; the Floor of various Colours, as black, white, and green; and the Cieling which is made in the Form of a Cupola, is yellow: It hath sixty four *Boozes*, standing on Pedestals of black and white Marble, and eight large Silver Lamps with seven Lights to each, placed in a circular Form, besides one in the middle which burns constantly.

The fifth belongs to the *Foramzeps* or Male Children of the Prince; it is built of a white Marble, with large black Veins in it, both the inside Wall and Floor being of a light grey Marble; it is thirty Foot square, having nineteen *Boozes* of Gold, and sixty of Silver, standing on Pedestals of the same Sort of Marble, with the outside Wall; there are in it eight large Silver Lamps, hanging two in each Corner, besides one in the middle which burns continually.

The sixth *Moorzack* belongs to the *Squeenzibs* or Female Children of the

Prince; it is built of a curious red Marble, with Veins of white running thro' it, and is twenty eight Foot square, the inside Wall and Floor being of white Marble; it has a hundred and nineteen *Boozes* of Silver standing on Pedestals of a blewish grey Marble; it has eight Silver Lamps disposed two in a Corner, besides one in the middle that burns continually.

All these here taken Notice of, belong to those of the King's own Blood, but as it may seem a little too tedious to be particular in the Description of them all, we shall only observe who the great Persons are, who are distinguished by having *Moorzacks* assigned to them alone, or to their Families.

First, There is one appointed for the burying Place of the *Baamzan* or chief Priest; one to the *Baulumzu* or Treasurer; one to the *Jocybauthaux* or chief Councillor; one to the *Moorenzep* or Head General;—one to the *Caffa* or Secretary;—one to the *Paremzebs*, which are a few People so called by Way of Title, and are their chief Nobility;—one to their Wives, whom they call *Tepshoyes*;—one to the *Morepzus* or Generals of the Elephants;—one to the *Hammons* or Governors of Towns;—one to the *Hoyzepa* or Head Teacher of the Elephants;—one to the *Sancof* or Head Doctor.

There is also one particularly kept for such as not being otherwise intitled to this Honour, shall perform some brave Action in the War—there is one belonging to the *Zanshaw* or Master of the King's Musick—One to the *Divatzabowes* or Concubines of the King—One to the *Panpuzams* or Male Children of the King's Concubines—One to the *Parrasquas* or Male Children of the High Priest—One to the *Gauzets* or Wives of the chief General—One to the *Matotzas* or Wives of the Governors of Towns—One to the *Hoydenebs* or Wives of the Treasurer—One to the *Okenzegs* or Wives of the chief Councillor.

But when I mention a *Moorzack* to belong to the Treasurer, or to the General, it must not be understood to be for the Use of him and his Heirs, but the next Person who succeeds in his Post is to be buried there, and his Heirs are no Ways intitled, unless they happen to succeed him in his Post.

These are all built of Marble of different Colours, some larger, and some less, some square, others quite round, some having a small Spire at Top, and others without; yet the Ornaments within are as rich in many of them, as in those belonging to the King or Prince—As for Example, in the *Moorzack* of the *Baamzan* or high Priest, of the *Baumlozn* or Treasurer, of the *Morewzep* or General, and of the *Caffa* or Secretary, the *Boozes* are all Gold; in others there are some of Gold and some of Silver, and considering what a great Number there are of them, these Monuments contain a vast Wealth.

When the King, Prince, or any other Person who is intitled to a Place in one of these Monuments dies, the Corps is immediately stripp'd naked, (let it be Man or

Woman) after which, it is laid upon a Bier, and a thin Piece of Purple Silk being thrown over it, it is carried to be lain in State for some Days to a certain House, or Hall, built for that Purpose, a little Way without the City.—This Building consists of one large Room, sixty Foot in Length, and twenty six broad, being thirty Foot high, and flat at Top; the Stone is a curious white Marble, it is illuminated within with a great Number of Silver Lamps; in the middle stands a white Marble Table, supported by six Marble Pedestals about three Foot high, on which is laid the Body.

When they intend to remove it to the *Hoynabs* or burying Place, they exactly observe the Setting of the Sun; at which Time comes the chief Priest, attended by all those who have a Right to be buried in these Places (for no others must assist upon these Occasions) and drawing out a sharp Instrument, which they call a *Mockdoo*, and which serves the Use of a Knife, he opens the Body of the deceas'd, takes out the Heart, and delivers it into the Hands of the nearest Relation, who stands ready for that Purpose, at the Priest's right Hand; when this is done, the Body is carried to the lower End of the Hall, where a Fire is prepared in a Hole, five Foot deep in the Ground, and about as many broad; the Body is put into the said Fire, where it is consumed; then the Heart is again delivered into the Hands of the Priest, who places it in a little Stone-Pot, and puts it into the Fire, where it remains till it is dried to a Powder; then the Ashes of the Body being dried up, are put into the *Booze*, as is also the Heart; after which, they proceed to the *Hoynatz*, the nearest Relation carrying the *Booze*. When they arrive at the *Moorzack*, which upon this Occasion is all illuminated, the *Booze* is again delivered into the Hands of the Priest, who going into the *Moorzack* alone, shuts the Door after him, he remains a Quarter of an Hour, places the *Booze* upon the Pedestal prepared for it, and then returns, which makes an End of the whole Ceremony.

All this is done without a Word; nor is there any Sign of Sorrow or Lamentation amongst the Kindred, of the deceas'd, nor is it the Custom ever to speak of him, or name him at all after he is dead.

Thus we have given an Account of the Order and Ceremonies of their Funerals, and of the Magnificence of their Monuments, which make a most glorious Shew at a Distance, nor are they less beautiful when near, the Materials of which they are built being very fine, and their Scituation delightful.

But as to their Religion we can give but imperfect Accounts, for they scarce know what it is themselves; they never ask'd the Molotto one Word concerning his Religion, and when he enquired of theirs, they had very little to say about it, but told such an incoherent Story, that he could make neither Head nor Tail of it. There is a Mosque or Temple about half a Mile out of the City, of which they

give a fabulous Account, as that it was built in one Night, but no Man could tell how, or by whom; but their general Opinion was, that it was built by *Hios* God of the Sea, and at certain Times they used to flock, and pay a Kind of Devotion there, but they could not tell why or wherefore. However by the best Observations our Molotto could make, it appear'd to him as if they had several Worships amongst them, for he took Notice that some paid their Devotions to a little Image, not unlike a Wolf, which they kept in their Houses, and which are so common, that the poorer Sort of People make them of Bits of Wood, of about four or five Inches long, and sell them about the Streets.

They bear no Sort of Hatred or Antipathy to Christians, as Christians, as we see the *Turks* and most of the Sects of *Mahomet* do; but the Truth on't is, they do not know what a Christian is, yet (as we observed before) they are bred up in a Notion that white Men are all a Kind of Monsters, and they hate and detest them, as we do Toads or other poisonous Creatures, not for their Religion, but their Colour. In Respect to one another they observe the Laws of Society very well, and perhaps there is less Fraud and fewer Acts of Injustice committed amongst them, than in any Christian Country we can name. So that our Molotto who was now in a Manner naturaliz'd amongst them, and whose Complexion was black enough not to appear odious and terrible to them, was as well used as the rest of the *Passaus* or Guards, or any other Person of equal Rank with him.

It is certain he once flattered himself with the Hopes of being placed in a better Condition of Life amongst them, or being set at full Liberty, by Way of Recompence, for his instructing them in some useful Things, which proved of publick Advantage to them, but he had long laid aside those vain Thoughts, for he found the *Accabo* had no Notion of Generosity, or Gratitude: He, therefore, with a Kind of Philosophy, seem'd to confine his Wishes to that melancholy quiet Life he was obliged to lead within the Limits of the *Moorzacks*, till an Accident fell out, which quite changed his Sentiments in this Respect, and which proves how natural the Love of Liberty is to Man.

It happened that the *Hamman* or Governor of the Town of *Saeni*, a Place about twenty Leagues to the Eastward of *Magadoxa*, in the same Kingdom of *Zanguebar*, having committed some Violences, by which he got the ill Will of the People, they rose against him, and kill'd him. This News was no sooner brought to *Magadoxa*, than the *Accabo*, tho' he keeps no Army or Guards, except the *Passaus* to watch the *Moorzacks*, immediately rais'd a Body of two thousand Men, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, and march'd in Person at the Head of them, to suppress the Rebels. The second Days March, Advice was brought him that the *Schabew* or Ship had been seen near a little Town call'd *Bandan*, ten Leagues Eastward of *Saeni*, and thirty of *Magadoxa*: Upon which

Intelligence, he forthwith commanded six Men to march back to the *Moorzacks* as expeditiously as they could, in order to fetch our Molotto, and with him to join the Army as soon as they could. They found him upon his Duty, and commanded him to march away immediately, with his Bow and Arrows, which were the Arms that belonged to him, as a *Passau* or Guard of the *Moorzacks*, so that he seem'd to march as a Soldier more than a Prisoner.

After two Days hard March they came up with the Army which had made a Halt, at some Distance from the Town of *Saeni*, and the *Accabo* having sent out a Detachment to lie in Ambuscade near the Town, they took some Prisoners, who being brought in, declared that all the Inhabitants had abandoned the Town upon the News of the King's Approach, and were fled away for Fear. At the same Time they gave such Instances of the Tyranny of the late *Hamman* or Governor, and of the Necessity they were under of doing as they did, that the King appeared satisfied with their Behaviour; and to lay aside all Resentment, ordered several of them to go and find out the Rest, and give them Notice, that they might return to their Habitations, for that all was pardon'd, and that he would send them a better Governor. And, as if all had been over, the next Day he began to move with his Army back towards *Magadoxa*, but marched extreamly slow; towards Night, they came near a great Wood, into which he commanded his whole Army to enter, in order to lie that Night; the next Morning he gave Orders that no Man upon Pain of Death should go out of the Wood.

In the mean Time the scattered Inhabitants of *Saeni* having heard the good News, were returning to their Habitations; but no sooner was it dark that Night, but the *Accabo* gave Orders for a March, and making all the Expedition they could, they silently enter'd the Town of *Saeni* before Morning, while the Inhabitants newly return'd were all asleep; however, they were alarm'd, and running into the Streets, the *Accabo* commanded his Men to fall upon them, who killed a great Number of them, whilst a great many favoured by the Darkness of the Night, had the good Luck to make their Escape; but of those that could not escape by Flight, there were only forty three made Prisoners, all the Rest being kill'd.

Our Molotto happen'd to fall into Discourse with one of these Prisoners, who lamenting the hard Fate, of his poor Townsmen, and giving him an Account of their Flight from the City, and their Return back, told him, that as they went near the Sea-side, about ten Leagues from thence, and a League or two from *Bandon*, they saw a *Schabew* or Ship, and so described him the Way to the Place where she lay; the Molotto perceiv'd it was directly East of the Place they were then at, viz. *Saeni*, he ask'd several Questions concerning the Size of the Ship, the Prisoner answer'd him to the best of his Understanding; and in his Manner of

describing her, gave the Molotto to understand, that her Yards and Topmasts were down, which was a Sign she designed to lye there some Time; he then desired to know of him when he had seen her last, he answered him two Days before.

It immediately came into his Head that Providence had now given him the Means of making his Escape, and that in all Probability if he miss'd this, he never would have an Opportunity more; he knew that nothing could hinder him from making off by Night, and that in all Probability, he would be gone several Hours before he should be miss'd; so that he flattered himself, that those who should be sent in Pursuit of him would never overtake him, tho' they should hit the right Way, and he thought it might very well happen they should be out there too.

All that Day he pass'd betwixt Hope and Fear, sometimes he was terrified at the dismal Apprehensions of losing his Way himself, or of the Ship's being sail'd off, in either of which Cases there was nothing for him but certain Destruction, for he could have no Chance of concealing himself in the Country as a Native might do.—On the other Side, he spirited himself up with an Assurance that the Ship could not be yet sail'd, having her Yards and Topmasts down but two Days before; and again, that he knew so well how the Place bore, that there could be no Danger of his losing his Way; so that that Day he did nothing but mark out the Way with his Eye, that he intended to go, at his first setting out.

As soon as all was silent that Night, and his Comrades (who were a Kind of Guards upon him) were all asleep, he ventured to set out, nor did he meet with any Frights or Interruptions at the Beginning, getting clear of the Army without being questioned, or so much as seen or heard of any; for as they knew nothing of military Discipline, they have no Centinels in the Night. He marched all Night with all his Might, for indeed it was for Life; in the Morning when the Day was clear, he saw a little Town about two Miles from him, he judg'd this to be the Town of *Bandon*, by the Description which the Prisoner gave him of it; he guessed now that he was near the Sea, and that it was nothing but the high Land before him, which hindered him from the Sight of it; he therefore set his best Foot forwards, to gain the Top of one of the Hills before him; when he reached the Top, he had a fair View of the Ocean, and looking stedfastly every Way, he fancied he saw something like a Ship Eastward, but it was so far off, it was scarce discernable, however, it revived his Heart, and he now thought himself safe; he also perceived a pretty large River, at some Distance below him, in the Valleys, which he must of Necessity pass, because it lay directly in his Way, but as he was expert at Swimming, this gave him no great Dread, therefore he made

the best of his Way towards the said River; when he arrived at the Banks, he perceived it was so rapid, that he apprehended (he being a little weakened with the Fatigue of his Journey) the Current would be too strong for him, and carry him into the Sea; he thought therefore, there was no Way for him to get over, but to walk up further in the Country, to find a Place where the Course of the River was crooked, which always breaks the Rapidity of the Stream, and where he might cross with less Danger.

While he was considering on this Matter, he chanced to look about, and turning his Eyes upwards towards the Hill from whence he was newly descended, and which was now betwixt two and three Miles Distance from him, he saw six Men on the Top thereof; they seemed to stand still and look about them for a while, but suddenly they started forwards, and with great Precipitation made directly towards him; he could think no less than that they were some sent in Pursuit of him, and that their standing still at first, was to no other Purpose, than to try if they could see him, and that their discovering him, was the Occasion of their running so suddenly down the Hill afterwards. The Fear of the cruel Death he should suffer, in Case he should be taken, hinder'd all further Consideration, so that without any more examining them, he plunged himself into the River, the Current was very strong, however, he made Shift to stem it better than he expected; and when he got over near the other Side, Providence so order'd it, that he was forced into a Part of the River, where there was an eddy Water, which drove him upon the Bank, so that in about the Space of half an Hour or a little more, he landed safely on the other Side.

He was a little spent with his Swimming, when sitting down to take a little Breath, he saw a Sight which terrified him as much as an Army of Enemies at his Heels could have done; it was a monstrous Aligator lying near the Bank-side, it appeared like some prodigious Oak in the Water, and he has declared and given it under his Hand, that it seemed to him large enough to swallow an Ox. At the same Time he beheld his Pursuers, who were now arrived pretty near the opposite Bank, he started up, and wing'd with Fear, flew rather than run, and there being some shrubby low Wood near the River, he had Presence of Mind enough to make his Way through them, knowing that if the Monster should follow him, it could not pass that Way, because the Thickness of the Wood would hinder it, besides it must presently lose Sight of him, and indeed it is likely, that he owed his Escape to this lucky Thought; he run on with greater Swiftmess than at his first setting out, (for his Fear had supplied him with new Spirits,) but not without often looking back, which gave him the Comfort of knowing that the Monster and his Pursuers were both out of Sight: When he had continued this Pace about two Hours, he came to a Valley betwixt two rising

Grounds, which lay open to the Sea, where he was joyfully surprized with a full View of the Ship lying at an Anchor, not above a Mile from the Shore, he hastened immediately towards the Edge of the Water, and made a Signal to them, by waving his Cap over his Head, for he thought it to no Purpose to hollow or call, because they were at too great a Distance to hear him. He continued this Action a considerable Time, and began to grow impatient and uneasy to the last Degree, because he saw them return no Signal in Answer to him, whereby he might understand that they saw him, or intended to succour him; but he was soon relieved from this Fright also, by the sudden Appearance of the Boat which was coming round the Point of Land very near him, she being employed for some Time in rowing along Shore, in order to discover if the Country was inhabited.

So great was his Joy at this Sight, and such was his Eagerness of speaking with them, knowing by their Dress they were *Europeans*, that he had not Patience to wait for their coming to him, but he ran hastily into the Water to meet them; when he waded up to the Neck, he set himself afloat and swam to the Boat, they proved to be *Dutchmen*; however, they took him in, and observing the extream Satisfaction and Joy which appeared in his Countenance, they were very desirous of knowing who he was, and whence he came, they spoke to him in *Dutch*, and tho' he knew but little of that Language, yet he made a Shift to let them understand that he spoke *English*; there were two or three amongst them that understood our Language, and one of them spoke it very well; when he knew this, he gave them to understand in few Words that he was a Christian, that he had been a Prisoner or Slave in that Country for sixteen Years, that he had now made his Escape, and was pursued by six Barbarians who were once come in Sight of him.

As they had Arms in their Boat, they had a Mind to stay a-while and see whether these Barbarians would appear, for they had not beheld a human Creature since they had lain there, and were of Opinion that the Country was not inhabited, (tho' the Ship had been seen from the Hills by the Natives) so they lay upon their Oars.

In about half an Hour five Men appear'd arm'd with Bows and Arrows, and running a great Pace, they came to the Water-side, and beheld the Boat, which was but a little Distance from them; the *Dutchmen* fired two Musquets, upon which they dispersed and fled hastily away, but a little while after two of them came back again, and throwing down their Bows and Arrows, upon the Shore-side, plung'd into the Sea, and seem'd to direct their Way towards the Boat; the *Dutchmen* were surpriz'd what they could mean, but however, as nothing was to be fear'd from two naked Men, they lay still to see what it would come to: In

fine, the two Barbarians swam to the Boat, and speaking to the Molotto, begg'd to be taken in, and to go along with them, for that they should certainly be put to some cruel Death if they went back, for not having taken him and brought him back with them.

The *Dutchmen* were willing to receive them, knowing they would be worth Money to be sold for Slaves. When they got into the Boat, they gave an Account of losing one of their Company in swimming over the River, where they first had Sight of the Molotto, who was devoured by an Alligator, in all Probability the same the Molotto had seen, and that the other three would travel as far as they could from their own Country, in order to save their Lives; but for their Parts, they chose rather to put themselves on the Mercy of the white Men, than run the Hazard of being taken, or starved in passing thro' Countries they did not know.

When he came on Board the Ship, he related to the Captain the whole Story of his Adventures, who finding he had been a Sea-faring Man, and that he understood Navigation pretty well, put him upon the Foot of an able Seaman.

They remain'd here about three Weeks, the Winds continuing contrary till then, in which Time they laid in Water and Wood, and diverted themselves with Fishing; after this they sail'd for *Batavia* in the *East-Indies*, where having unladed and taken in a Cargoe of *India* Goods, they sail'd home for *Holland*; the Molotto made two or three Voyages with them, but in the Year 1724, he being in *Holland*, and having a great Desire to see his old Captain, he embark'd on the 28th of *March* in *Holland*, and pass'd into *England*, he found out his Captain who was alive, and who being overjoy'd to see him, prov'd very generous to him, and prevail'd with him to give in Writing the Particulars of all his Adventures, from whose Copy the foregoing Narrative is faithfully taken.

As to the Molotto he return'd back to *Holland*, and sails still in the Service of the *Dutch East-India* Company, unless he is lately dead.





OF
Capt. *BELLAMY*.

As we cannot, with any Certainty, deduce this Man from his Origin, we shall begin where we find him first a declared Enemy to Mankind. Capt. *Bellamy* and *Paul Williams*, in two Sloops, had been upon a *Spanish Wreck*, and not finding their Expectation answered, as has been mentioned in former Parts of this History, they resolved not to lose their Labour, and agreed to go upon the Account, a Term among the Pyrates, which speaks their Profession. The first, who had the Misfortune to fall in their Way, was Captain *Prince*, bound from *Jamaica* to *London*, in a Galley built at that Port, whose Cargo consisted of Elephants Teeth, Gold Dust, and other rich Merchandize. This Prize not only enrich'd, but strengthened them; they immediately mounted this Galley with 28 Guns, and put aboard 150 Hands of different Nations; *Bellamy* was declared Captain, and the Vessel had her old Name continued, which was *Whidaw*: This happen'd about the latter End of *February*, 1717. They, now thus fitted for the continuing of their desperate Resolution, shaped their Course for *Virginia*, which Coast they very much infested, taking several Vessels: They were upon shifting this Station, when they were very near, as the Psalmist expresses it, *going quick down into Hell*, for the Heaven's beginning to lowre, prognosticated a Storm; at the first Appearance of the Sky being likely to be overcast, *Bellamy* took in all his small Sails, and *Williams* double reefed his main Sail, which was hardly done when a Thunder Shower overtook them with such Violence, that the *Whidaw* was very near over-setting; they immediately put before the Wind, for they had no other Way of working, having only the Goose Wings of the Fore-Sail to scud with; happy for them the Wind was at *West* and by *North*, for had it been Easterly, they must have infallibly perish'd upon the Coast. The Storm encreased towards Night, and not only put them by all Sail, but obliged the *Whidaw* to bring her Yards aportland, and all they could do with Tackles to the Goose Neck of the Tiller, four Men in the Gun Room, and two at the Wheel, was to keep her Head to the Sea, for had she once broach'd to, they must infallibly have founder'd. The Heavens, in the mean while, were cover'd with Sheets of

Lightning, which the Sea by the Agitation of the saline Particles seem'd to imitate; the Darkness of the Night was such, as the Scripture says, as might be felt; the terrible hollow roaring of the Winds, cou'd be only equalled by the repeated, I may say, incessant Claps of Thunder, sufficient to strike a Dread of the supream Being, who commands the Sea and the Winds, one would imagine in every Heart; but among these Wretches, the Effect was different, for they endeavoured by their Blasphemies, Oaths, and horrid Imprecations, to drown the Uproar of jarring Elements. *Bellamy* swore he was sorry he could not run out his Guns to return the Salute, meaning the Thunder, that he fancied the Gods had got drunk over their Tipple, and were gone together by the Ears: They continued scudding all that Night under their bare Poles, the next Morning the Main-Mast being sprung in the Step, they were forced to cut it away, and, at the same time, the Mizzen came by the Board. These Misfortunes made the Ship ring with Blasphemy, which was encreased, when, by trying the Pumps, they found the Ship made a great Deal of Water; tho' by continually plying them, it kept it from gaining upon them: The Sloop as well as the Ship, was left to the Mercy of the Winds, tho' the former, not having a Tant-Mast, did not lose it. The Wind shifting round the Compass, made so outrageous and short a Sea, that they had little Hopes of Safety; it broke upon the Poop, drove in the Taveril, and wash'd the two Men away from the Wheel, who were saved in the Netting. The Wind after four Days and three Nights abated of its Fury, and fixed in the North, North East Point, hourly decreasing, and the Weather clearing up, so that they spoke to the Sloop, and resolv'd for the Coast of *Carolina*; they continued this Course but a Day and a Night, when the Wind coming about to the Southward, they changed their Resolution to that of going to *Rhode Island*. All this while the *Whidaw's* Leak continued, and it was as much as the Lee-Pump could do to keep the Water from gaining, tho' it was kept continually going. Jury-Masts were set up, and the Carpenter finding the Leak to be in the Bows, occasioned by the Oakum spewing out of a Seam, the Crew became very jovial again; the Sloop received no other Damage than the Loss of the Main-Sail, which the first Flurry tore away from the Boom. In their Cruise off *Rhode Island*, the Beginning of *April*, they took a Sloop commanded by Capt. *Beer*, belonging to *Boston*, in the Lat. of *South Carolina*, 40 Leagues from Land; they put the said Captain on Board the *Whidaw* Commodore, while they rifled and plundered his Vessel, which *Williams* and *Bellamy* proposed returning to him, but the Crews being averse to it, they sunk her, and put the Captain ashore upon *Block Island*.

I can't pass by in Silence, Capt. *Bellamy's* Speech to Capt. *Beer*. *D—n my Bl—d*, says he, *I am sorry they won't let you have your Sloop again, for I scorn to do any one a Mischief, when it is not for my Advantage; damn the Sloop, we*

must sink her, and she might be of Use to you. Tho', damn ye, you are a sneaking Puppy, and so are all those who will submit to be governed by Laws which rich Men have made for their own Security, for the cowardly Whelps have not the Courage otherwise to defend what they get by their Knavery; but damn ye altogether: Damn them for a Pack of crafty Rascals, and you, who serve them, for a Parcel of hen-hearted Numskuls. They villify us, the Scoundrels do, when there is only this Difference, they rob the Poor under the Cover of Law, forsooth, and we plunder the Rich under the Protection of our own Courage; had you not better make One of us, than sneak after the A—s of these Villains for Employment? Capt. Beer told him, that his Conscience would not allow him to break thro' the Laws of God and Man. You are a devilish Conscience Rascal, d—n ye, replied Bellamy, I am a free Prince, and I have as much Authority to make War on the whole World, as he who has a hundred Sail of Ships at Sea, and an Army of 100,000 Men in the Field; and this my Conscience tells me; but there is no arguing with such sniveling Puppies, who allow Superiors to kick them about Deck at Pleasure; and pin their Faith upon a Pimp of a Parson; a Squab, who neither practices nor believes what he puts upon the chuckle-headed Fools he preaches to.—The Pyrates wanting neither Provision nor Water, and the *Whidaw's* Damage being repaired, they past their Time very jovially. One of the Crew had been a Stroler, a Fellow who had pass'd thro' a great many real as well as fictitious Scenes of Life, the stroling Business not answering the Greatness of his Soul (as he expressed it) he thought it more profitable, and less fatiguing, to turn Collector. Accordingly in *Yorkshire* he borrowed an excellent Gelding, (I make Use of his own Terms) with a hunting Saddle and Bridle, and with a Case of Pocket Pistols, which he before had, he set out to seek Adventures, without taking Leave of his Company; he met, he said, with several Knights Errant, whom as they declined the Combat, he spoiled and sent to offer themselves at the Feet of his *Dulcinea*, but being under the Influence of some malicious Enchanter, who envied his glorious Feats of Arms, and fear'd they would eclipse by the Brightness of their Lustre, those of some favourite Knight whom he protected; or otherwise, knowing by his Skill, that he should one Day succumb under the Weight of his irresistable Arm, by his magical Power, threw him into a loathsome Dungeon loaded with Irons, whence the wise Man, who had Care of his Affairs, and was destined to write the History of his heroick Deeds delivered, and putting him on board a Ship, transported him to the famous Island of *Jamaica*; and after various Turns of Fortune, link'd him in Society with these Marine Heroes, the Scourge of Tyrants and Avarice, and the brave Asserters of Liberty.

This whimsical Fellow made a Play whilst he was on Board, which he called

the *Royal Pyrate*; and this (which to see once would make a Cynick laugh) was acted on the Quarter-Deck with great Applause, both of the Actors and Poet; but an Accident which turn'd the Farce into Tragedy, occasioned an Order of Council to forbid its being play'd a second Time. The Case was thus; *Alexander* the Great, environ'd by his Guards, was examining a Pyrate who was brought before him: The Gunner, who was drunk, took this to be in earnest, and that his Mess-Mate was in Danger, and hearing *Alexander* say,

*Know'st thou that Death attends thy mighty Crimes,
And thou shall'st hang to Morrow Morn betimes.*

Swore by G—d he'd try that, and running into the Gun Room where he left three Companions over a Bowl of Rum Punch as drunk as himself, told them, they were going to hang honest *Jack Spinckes*; and if they suffered it, they should be all hang'd one after another, but by G—d, they should not hang him, for he'd clear the Decks; and taking a Grenade with a lighted Match, followed by his Comrades with their Cutlash, he set Fire to the Fuze and threw it among the Actors. The Audience was on the Gang Ways and Poop, and falling in with their Cutlash, poor *Alexander* had his left Arm cut off, and *Jack Spinckes* his Leg broke with the bursting of the Shell: The Ship was immediately in an Uproar, and the Aggressors seiz'd, who else would have made Havock with the Guards, or have been cut to Pieces by them, for they had all Cutlashes. *Alexander* the Great revenged the Loss of his Arm by the Death of him who deprived him of his Limb. The Gunner and two surviving Comrades were that Night clapp'd into Irons, and the next Day at a Court-Marshall, not only acquitted but applauded for their Zeal. *Alexander* and his Enemies were reconciled, and the Play forbad any more to be acted.

A Fortnight after the setting Capt. *Beer* ashore, *Williams* boarded and took a Vessel off *Cape Cod*, laden with Wine; the Crew of which encreased the Number of their Prisoners: They put seven Men on Board the Prize, with Orders to keep Company with the Ship and Sloop, commanded by *Bellamy* and *Williams*, and left aboard her the Master.

As the Ship and Sloop had been long off the *Carreen*, they stretch'd away to the Northward, and made the best of their Way to *Penobscott* River, which lies between *Nova Scotia* and the Province of *Main*, where they designed to heave down. This Tract of Land is along the Coast about 190 Miles from West to East, reckoning from the Province of *Main* to St. *Croix*; and about 200 Miles over from North to South, counting from the River *Quebeck* to the Sea. King *Charles* the Second made a Grant of it in 1663, to his Royal Highness *James* Duke of

York, who made a Settlement at *Pemaquid*; it abounds in all Sorts of Timber, and would bear excellent Hemp and Flax, and all Sorts of Naval Stores; is rich in Copper, Lead, and Iron Ore; and the Seas are stock'd with Whales, Cod, Sturgeon, Herrings, Mackrel, Salmon, Oysters, Cockles, &c. the Soil produces all Sort of *European* Grain and Fruits; and the Woods shelter a great Number of Deer, as Elks, Red and Fallow Deer, &c. and this Country, if settled, would certainly be of great Advantage to *England*. I hope the Reader will pardon this small Digression which the Interest I take in every Thing, which may tend to the enriching or extending the Dominions of our glorious *Britain*, my dearly loved Country, forced me into: But to return, when they were at the Mouth of this River, it was thought more eligible to careen in the River *Mechisses*; they entered it as agreed, and run up about two Miles and a half, when they came to an Anchor, with their Prizes. The next Morning all the Prisoners were set ashore with Drivers, and Orders to assist in the building Huts; the Guns were also set ashore, and a Breast Work raised, with Embrasures, for the Canon on each Side the River, this took up four Days: A Magazine was dug deep in the Earth, and a Roof rais'd over it by the poor Slaves the Prisoners, whom they treated after the same Manner as the Negroes are used by the *West-India* Planters. The Powder being secured, and every Thing out, they hove down the Sloop, cleaned her, and when she had all in again, they careened the *Whidaw*, by the largest Prize. Here the Stroler told the two Commanders, that they might lay the Foundation of a new Kingdom, which, in time, might subject the World, and extend its Conquests beyond those of the *Roman* Empire. *I am, it is true*, said he, *by Birth, the Son of a Miller, but I have Ambition, Avarice, and Learning enough, to be a Secretary of State, for I was a Servitor at Oxford before I turn'd Stroler; and if you think fit to erect this Tract of Land into an Empire, and your joint Imperial Majesties will employ my Abilities, don't question but I will prove a true Patriot; that is, by the Figure I will make, I will be a Credit to your Court, and by the squeezing your Subjects (whom under the specious Pretence of Liberty, I will keep in abject Slavery) drain such Sums as shall ever keep them poor, and your and my Treasury full. Rome, the Mistress of the World, was founded by a couple of Sheep-Stealers, and peopled by run-away Slaves and insolvent Debtors; how much more advantageously might you two undertake the erecting of a new Monarchy, whose Subjects are no Strangers to the Art of War, who are not environ'd as they were with invidious Neighbours, and who may encrease your Power, and propagate the Species, by taking into your Protection the Indians of these Parts, and the discontented and desperate People of the neighbouring English and French Colonies? To strengthen your selves, raise every useful Man to some Dignity in the State, and share the Prisoners (I mean such as won't*

swear Allegiance) as so many Slaves unworthy of Liberty among your great Men; build more Vessels, keep them constantly on the Cruize, and force all the Prisoners either by fair or foul to acknowledge your Sovereignty; it was thus the greatest Empires of the World were founded; superior Force was always acknowledged a just Title; and the Ancients ever esteem'd the Prisoners they made, whose Lives were in their Power by the Law of Arms, lawful Slaves; and the employing their Lives in the Service of the Conqueror, but a grateful Retribution for preserving of them. I leave it to the mature Deliberation of your great Wisdom, whether it is not more eligible to found here an Empire, and make War by a lawful Authority derived from your Royal selves, than lie under the opprobrious Appellations of Robbers, Thieves, profligate Rogues and Pyrates; for begging Pardon of your Majesties, for that Freedom of Speech, which my Zeal for your Royal Service, and the publick Good oblige me to; the World treats you and your loyal Subjects with no softer Terms. But, when you have once declared your selves lawful Monarchs, and that you have Strength enough to defend your Title, all the Universities in the World will declare you have a Right Jure Divino; and the Kings and Princes of the Earth, will send their Ambassadors to court your Alliance.

Bellamy and Williams told him, They would consider on his Proposal, and they would let him know what they should in their great Wisdom conclude upon. In the mean while, they thank'd him for his Advice, promis'd when they began to found their Monarchy, (should they find it expedient,) to make him Prime Minister, or Quarter-Master ashore; and when he had enriched himself and Family, by the fleecing their Subjects, they assured him they would pass an Act of Indemnity for his Security; and concluded with ordering a Bowl of Punch for every Mess.

The Whidaw being clean'd, they thought of cruizing again, and accordingly steer'd for Fortunes Bay in Newfoundland; they made some Prizes on the Banks, forced all the Men, and sunk the Vessels.

They had not been long on this Coast before they were separated by a Storm, which held some Days. Off the Island of St. Paul the Whidaw spied a Sail, which she immediately gave Chase to; the Ship brought to and lay by for her, she prov'd a French Man of 36 Guns, carrying Soldiers to Quebeck. The Whidaw engag'd with great Resolution, and the French did not shew less, for he boarded the Whidaw, and was twice put off, with the Loss of Men on both Sides. Bellamy after two Hours Engagement thought the Frenchman too hard a Match, and was for shaking him off; but his Enemy was not as willing to part with him, for he gave Chase, and as he sail'd altogether as well as Bellamy, the latter had certainly been taken and had received the due Punishment of his Crimes, had not

the Night coming on favour'd his Escape: He lost in this Engagement 36 Hands, beside several wounded, the poor Minister of State, our before-mentioned Stroller, was in the Number of the slain.

The *Whidaw* returned to the Coast of *Newfoundland*, and off *Placentia* Bay met with his Consort and the Prize.

They resolved to visit again the Coast of *New England*, the *Whidaw* being much shatter'd in the late Engagement, having receiv'd a great many Shot in her Hull; they ran down this Coast, and between *St. George's Banks* and *Nantuket's Shoals*, took the *Mary Anne*.

The Master of the Vessel, taken formerly off *Cape Cod*, was left on board her, and as he was very well acquainted with the Coast, they order'd him to carry the Light and go a-head; and the Pyrates commonly kept him at Helm: He upon a Night of publick Rejoicing, seeing all the Pyrates drunk, laid hold on the Opportunity, and run his Vessel ashore about Midnight, near the Land of *Eastham*, out of which he alone escap'd with Life. The *Whidaw* steering after the Light, met with the same Fate; the small Vessel ran into a sandy Bay, and the Men got ashore without Difficulty.

When the *Whidaw* struck, the Pyrates murder'd all their Prisoners, that is, all their forced Men; as it is concluded, from the mangled Carcasses which were wash'd ashore; but not a Soul escaped out of her or *William's*, who was also lost.

The Pyrates, to the Number of seven who escaped, were seiz'd by the Inhabitants, and on the Information of the Master who escap'd, and on their own Confession, were imprison'd, condemn'd, and executed. They were all Foreigners, very ignorant and obstinate; but by the indefatigable Pains of a pious and learned Divine, who constantly attended them, they were, at length, by the special Grace of God, made sensible of, and truly penitent, for the enormous Crimes they had been guilty of. As the Trial of these Pyrates, and their Behaviour while under Sentence, and at the Place of Execution, was printed at *Boston*, and is to be had in Town, I shall refer the curious Reader to that small Tract.





OF
Captain *William Fly*,
And his CREW.

As to the Birth of this Pyrate, we can discover nothing by the Enquiries we have hitherto made; and, indeed, had we succeeded in our Search, could it have been of any great Consequence? For, its certain, by the Behaviour of the Man, he must have been of very obscure Parents; and, by his Education, (as he was no Artist) very unfit, in all Respects, except that of Cruelty, for the villainous Business he was in. We have been inform'd, that he had been a Pyrate in a private Capacity, and having escaped Justice, had an Opportunity of repenting his former Crimes, and, as a foremast Man, or petty Officer, of getting his Bread in a warrantable Way: But no; ignorant as he was of Letters, he was ambitious of Power, and capable of the most barbarous Actions to acquire it.

Captain *Green* of *Bristol*, in *April* 1726, shipp'd this *Fly* as Boatswain, at *Jamaica*, being bound, in the *Elizabeth Snow* of *Bristol*, for the Coast of *Guinea*. *Fly*, who had insinuated himself with some of the Men, whom he found ripe for any Villainy, resolved to seize the said *Snow*, and murder the Captain and Mate, and, taking the Command on himself, turn Pyrate. He proposed this his Design to his Brothers in Iniquity, who approving it, he, having the Watch at one o' Clock in the Morning, on the 27th Day of *May*, went up to one *Morrice Cundon*, then at the Helm, accompanied by *Alexander Mitchel*, *Henry Hill*, *Samuel Cole*, *Thomas Winthrop*, and other Conspirators, and swore damn him, if he spoke one Word, or stirr'd either Hand or Foot, he would blow his Brains out; and, tucking up his Shirt above his Elbow, with a Cutlass in his Hand, he, with *Mitchel*, went into the Captain's Cabbin, and told him, he must turn out. The Captain asking what was the Matter, was answered, by *Mitchel*, they had no Time to answer impertinent Questions; that if he would turn out, and go upon Deck quietly, it would save 'em the Trouble of scraping the Cabbin; if he would not, a few Buckets of Water and a Scraper would take his Blood out of the Decks. That they had chosen Captain *Fly* for Commander, and damn his Blood, they would

allow of no other, and would not waste their Provisions to feed useless Men.

The Captain reply'd, that since they had so resolved he should make no Resistance; but begged they would not murder him, since his living could be no Obstacle to their Designs; that he had never been harsh to either of them, and therefore they could not kill him out of revenge; and if it was only for their Security, he desired, if they would not take his Word to do nothing to obstruct the Measures they had resolved on, they would secure him in Irons till he might be put somewhere on Shore. Ay, G—d d—mn ye, says *Fly*, to live and hang us, if we are ever taken: No, no, walk up and be damn'd, that Bite won't take, it has hanged many an honest Fellow already. *Mitchel* and *Fly* then laying hold of him, pulled him out of his Bed. The poor Captain intreating to spare his Life, for his Soul's sake, told 'em he would bind himself down by the most solemn Oaths, never to appear against them; that he was unfit to appear before the Judgment Seat of a just and pure God; that he was loaded with Sins, and to take him off before he had washed those Stains which sullied his Soul by the Tears of Repentance, would be a Cruelty beyond Comparison greater than that of depriving him of Life, were he prepared for Death, since it would be, without any Offence committed against them, dooming him to eternal Misery; however, if they would not be perswaded that his Life was consistent with their Safety, he begg'd they would allow him some Time to prepare himself for the great Change. That he begg'd no other Mercy than what the Justice and Compassion of the Laws would allow them, should they hereafter be taken. *D—n your Blood*, said *Mitchel*, *no Preaching. Be damn'd an you will, what's that to us? Let him look out who has the Watch. Upon Deck, you Dog, for we shall lose no more Time about you.*

They hawl'd him into the Steerage, and forc'd him upon Deck, where one of the Hell-Hounds asked if he had rather take a Leap like a brave Fellow, or be to toss'd over like a sneaking Rascal. The Captain, addressing himself to *Fly*, said, *Boatswain, for God's sake don't throw me overboard, if you do, I am for ever lost; Hell's the Portion of my Crimes.*—Damn him answer'd *Fly*, since he's so devilish godly, we'll give him Time to say his Prayers, and I'll be Parson. Say after me. *Lord, have Mercy on me.* Short Prayers are best, so no more Words, and over with him, my Lads.

The Captain still cry'd for Mercy, and begg'd an Hour's respite only, but all in vain; he was seized by the Villains, and thrown over Board; catch'd however, and hung by the Main-Sheet, which *Winthorp* seeing, fetch'd the Cooper's broad Ax, and chopping off the unhappy Master's Hand, he was swallowed up by the Sea.

The Captain being thus dispatched, *Thomas Jenkins*, the Mate, was secured

and brought upon Deck, to share the same cruel Fate. His Intreaties were as useless as the Captain's; the Sentence they had passed upon him was not to be reversed; they were deaf to his Prayers and Remonstrances, Strangers to Humanity and Compassion. He was of the Captain's Mess, they said, and they should e'en drink together; it was Pity to part good Company.

Thus they jested with his Agonies; he, however, made some Struggle, which irritating his Murderers, one of them snatched up the Ax, with which *Winthorp* had lopped off the Captain's Hand, and gave him a great Cut on the Shoulder, by missing his Head, where the Blow was aimed, and he was thrown into the Sea. He swam notwithstanding, and called out to the Doctor to throw him a Rope, who, poor Man, could not hear him, being secured, and laid in Irons in his own Cabin; and had he heard, and been able to have thrown the Rope required, could it be expected that these harden'd Wretches would have relented, and shewn him Mercy? But the sinking Man will catch at a Straw, and Hope, they say, is the last that deserts us. While we have Life we are apt to flatter our selves, some lucky Accident may favour us.

It was next debated what should be done with the Doctor. Some were for sending him to look after the Captain and Mate, but the Majority, as he was a useful Man, thought it better to keep him. All obstacles being removed, *Mitchel* saluted *Fly* Captain, and, with the rest of the Crew who had been in the Conspiracy, with some Ceremony, gave him Possession of the great Cabin.

Here a Bowl of Punch being made, *Morice Cundon* was called down, and one *John Fitzherbert* set to the Helm in his Place. At the same Time the Carpenter and *Thomas Streaton* were brought before the Captain, who told them they were three Rascals, and richly deserved to be sent after the Captain and Mate, but that they were willing to shew them Mercy, and not put them to Death in cold Blood, and he would therefore only put them in Irons, for the Security of the Ship's Crew; they were accordingly ordered out, and iron'd. *Fly* then told his Comrades it was convenient to resolve on some Course, when Word was brought them, that a Ship was very near them. The Council broke up, and made a clear Ship, when, in a very little while after, they found it was the *Pompey*, which had left *Jamaica* in Company with the *Snow*; the *Pompey* standing for the *Snow*, which did not make from her, soon haled, and asked how Captain *Green* did, and was answered by *Fly*, that he was very well. They did not think fit to attack this Ship, but returning to hold their Consultation, it was resolved to steer for *North Carolina*.

Upon their Arrival on that Coast they spied a Sloop at Anchor within the *Bar*; she was call'd the *John* and *Hannah*, and commanded by Captain *Fulker*, who thinking the *Snow* might want a Pilot stepp'd into his Boat with his Mate, Mr.

Atkinson, and *Mr. Roan*, two Passengers, and a young Lad, in order to bring her in. When they came on board, they were told, that the *Snow* was come with a Cargoe from *Jamaica*; Captain *Fulker* and *Mr. Roan* were desired to walk down to the Captain, who was in the Cabbin; *Fly* received them very civilly, ordered a Bowl of Punch, and hearing Captain *Fulker* had brought another Passenger on Board, *Mr. Atkinson* was also invited down.

The Punch being brought in, Captain *Fly* told his Guest, *that he was no Man to mince Matters; that he and his Comrades were Gentlemen of Fortune, and should make bold to try if Captain Fulker's Sloop was a better Sailor than the Snow, if she was, she would prove much fitter for their Business, and they must have her*: The *Snow* came to an Anchor about a League off the Sloop, and *Fly* ordered *Fulker*, with six of his own Hands, into the Boat, to bring her alongside of the *Snow*; but the Wind proving contrary, their Endeavours proved also vain, and they returned again in the Boat, bringing Captain *Fulker* back with them.

As soon as they came on board the *Snow*, *Fly* fell into a violent Passion, cursing and damning *Fulker* for not bringing off the Sloop; he gave him his Reason, and said, it was impossible. *Damn ye*, replied the Pyrate, *you lie you Dog, but d—n my B—d, your Hide shall pay for your Roguery, and if I can't bring her off I'll burn her where she lies*. He then order'd Captain *Fulker* to the Geers; no Reason, no Arguments, could prevail; he was stripp'd and lash'd after a very inhuman Manner: And the Boat's Crew being sent again, with much ado carried her off as far as the Barr, where she bilged and sunk. The Pyrates then endeavoured to set what remained of her out of Water on Fire, but they could not burn her.

The *Snow* getting under Sail to look out for some Booty, *Fulker* and the others desired they might be set at Liberty, but it was denied them for the present, tho' not without a Promise that they should be released the first Vessel they took.

The fifth of *June* they left *Carolina*, and the next Day they spied a Sail, which prov'd the *John* and *Betty*, commanded by Capt. *Gale*, bound from *Barbadoes* to *Guiney*. *Fly* gave Chase, but finding the Ship wronged him, he made a Signal of Distress, hoisting his Jack at the main Top-Mast Head; but this Decoy did not hinder the Ship making the best of her Way. *Fly* continued the Chace all Night, and the Wind slackening, he came within Shot of the Ship, and fir'd several Guns at her under his black Ensign; the Ship being of no Force, and the Pyrates ready to board, the Captain struck; and *Fly* manning his Long-Boat, which carried a Pateraro in the Bow, the Crew being well armed with Pistols and Cutlashes went on Board the Prize, and sent Capt. *Gale*, after having secured his Men, Prisoner on board the *Snow*.

This Prize was of little Value to the Pyrates, who took nothing but some Sail-

Cloaths and small Arms, and after two Days let her go, but took away six of his Men, setting on board Capt. *Fulker* and a Passenger (Mr. *Atkinson* was detained) and Capt. *Green's* Surgeon; they kept this Gentleman, Mr. *Atkinson*, knowing he was a good Artist, and lately Master of the *Boneta* Brigantine, as a Pilot for the Coast of *New England*, which they were satisfied he was well acquainted with.

Upon Mr. *Atkinson's* desiring to have his Liberty with the others, Captain *Fly* made him the following Speech: *Look ye, Captain Atkinson, it is not that we care a T—d for your Company, G—d d—n ye; G—d d—n my Soul, not a T—d by G—d, and that's fair; but G—d d—n ye, and G—d's B—d and W—ds, if you don't act like an honest Man G—d d—n ye, and offer to play us any Rogues Tricks by G—d, and G—d sink me, but I'll blow your Brains out; G—d d—n me, if I don't. Now, Capt. Atkinson, you may do as you please, you may be a Son of a Whore and pilot us wrong, which, G—d d—n ye, would be a rascally Trick by G—d, because you would betray Men who trust in you; but, by the eternal J—s, you shan't live to see us hang'd. I don't love many Words, G—d d—n ye, if you have a Mind to be well used you shall, G—d's B—d; but if you will be a Villain and betray your Trust, may G—d strike me dead, and may I drink a Bowl of Brimstone and Fire with the D—I, if I don't send you head-long to H—Ill, G—d d—n me; and so there needs no more Arguments by G—d, for I've told you my Mind, and here's all the Ships Crew for Witnesses, that if I do blow your Brains out, you may blame no Body but your self, G—d d—n ye.*

Mr. *Atkinson* answered, it was very hard he should be forced to take upon him the Pilotage, when he did not pretend to know the Coast, and that his Life should answer for any Mistake his Ignorance of the Coast might make him guilty of, and therefore begg'd he might be set on board Capt. *Gale*; and that they would trust to their own Knowledge, since he did not doubt there being better Artists on Board. No, No, replied *Fly*, *that won't do by G—d, your palavring won't save your Bacon. Muchas palabras no valen nada, as the Spaniards say; so either discharge your Trust like an honest Man, for go you shan't by G—d, or I'll send you with my Service to the D—I; so no more Words, G—d d—n ye.*

There was no Reply made, and they stood for the Coast of *New England*; off *Delaware's* Bay they made a Sloop, commanded by one *Harris*, bound from *New York* to *Pensilvania*: She had on Board about fifty Passengers; *Fly* gave Chase, and coming up with her, hoisted his black Ensign, and ordered her to strike, which she immediately did; and *Fly* sent Capt. *Atkinson* on Board with three of his Hands, to sail her, tho' he would not allow him, (*Atkinson*) any Arms: They, the Pyrates, ransack'd this Prize, but not finding her of any Use to them, after a Detention of 24 Hours, they let her go, with her Men, excepting only a well made young Fellow, whose Name was *James Benbrooke*, whom they

kept.

Fly, after having releas'd the Prize, ordered Captain *Atkinson* to carry the *Snow* into *Martha's Vineyard*, but, he willfully miss'd this Place. *Fly* finding himself beyond *Nantuckets*, and that his Design was baulk'd, called to *Atkinson*, and told him, *he was a rascally Son of an envenom'd Bitch, and d—n his Blood it was a Piece of Cruelty to let such a Son of a Whore live, who design'd the Death of so many honest Fellows.* *Atkinson*, in his Defence said, he never pretended to know the Coast, and that it was very hard he should die for being thought an abler Man than he really was; had he pretended to be their Pilot, and did not know his Business, he deserved Punishment; but when he was forc'd upon a Business which he before declared he did not understand, it would be certainly cruel to make him suffer for their Mistake.—*G—d d—n ye*, replied *Fly*, *you are an obstinate Villain, and your Design is to hang us; but, B—d and W—ds you Dog, you shan't live to see it*, and saying this, he ran into his Cabbin and fetch'd a Pistol with Design to shoot *Atkinson*; but by the Interposition of *Mitchell*, who thought him innocent of any Design, he escaped.

Atkinson, who perceived his Life every Minute in Danger, began to ingratiate himself with the Pyrates, and gave them Hopes, that with good and gentle Usage, he might be brought to join them; this he did not say in express Terms, but by Words he now and then let drop, as by Accident: They were not a little rejoiced at the View of having so good an Artist to join them; nay, some of them hinted to him, that if he would take upon him the Command, they were ready to dispossess Capt. *Fly*, who carried his Command too high, and was known to all the Crew to be no Artist, and to understand nothing beyond the Business of a Boatswain. *Atkinson* thought it his Interest to keep them in the Opinion that he would join; but always declined hearing any Thing as to the Command.

This made him less severely us'd, and protected him from the Insults of *Fly*, who imagined he would betray them the first Opportunity, and therefore more than once proposed his being thrown over Board, which was never approved by the *Snow's* Company.

From *Nantuket* they stood to the Eastward, and off *Brown's Bank* made a Fishing Schooner. *Fly* coming up with her fired a Gun, and hoisting his black Ensign, swore, *d—n his Blood, if they did not instantly bring to, and send their Boat on Board, he would sink her*: The Schooner obeyed, and sent away her Boat on Board the *Snow*; he examined the Captain what Vessels were to be met with, and promised, if he could put him in the Way of meeting with a good Sailor, to let him go, and give him his Vessel, or he should otherwise keep her: The poor Man told him, he had a Companion which would soon be in Sight, and was a much better Vessel; accordingly about 12 at Noon the same Day, which

was the 23d of *June*, the other Schooner hove in Sight; upon which, *Fly* mann'd this Prize with six Pyrates, and a Prisoner nam'd *George Tasker*, and sent her in Chase, having himself on Board the *Snow*, no more than three Pyrates, Captain *Atkinson*, (who had work'd himself into some Favour with him) and fifteen forced Men; but he took Care to have his Arms upon Deck by him.

The Men who had not taken on with *Fly*, were, *Atkinson*, Capt. *Fulker's* Mate, and two Youths belonging to him; the Carpenter and Gunner belonging formerly to Captain *Green*; six of Captain *Gate's* Men, and the aforesaid *Benbrooke*, who belonged to Captain *Harris*, with three of the Men out of the Schooner. *Atkinson* seeing the Prisoners and forced Men were five to one of the Pyrates, thought of delivering himself from the Bondage he was in; and, as by good Luck, several other Fishing Vessels hove in Sight, right a-head of the *Snow*, he call'd to Captain *Fly*, and told him, he spied several other Vessels a-head, desiring, he would come forward and bring his Glass; *Fly* did so, and leaving his Arms on the Quarter-Deck, sat him on the Windlass to see if he could make what they were. *Atkinson*, who had concerted his Measures, with one *Walker* and the above-mention'd *Benbrooke*, secured the Arms on the Quarter-Deck, and gave them a Signal to seize *Fly*, which they did, with very little Trouble, and after made themselves Masters of the other three Pyrates and the *Snow*; the rest of the Prisoners, not knowing any Thing of, or what the Design might be, remaining altogether inactive, and brought the *Snow* and Pyrates to *Great Brewster*, where a Guard was put on Board *June* 28, 1726.

Soon after, the said Pyrates were brought to their Trial, that is, on the fourth of *July* following, before the Honourable *William Dummer*, Esq; Lieutenant Governor and Commander in chief, of the Province of *Massachuset's* Bay, President of the special Court of *Admiralty*, held at the Court-house of *Boston*, assisted by 18 Gentlemen of the Council, before whom they were found guilty of Murder and Piracy, condemn'd to be executed, and accordingly were executed the 12th of *July*; *Fly* was order'd to be hang'd in Chains at the Entrance of the Harbour of *Boston*. Thus ended the short Reign of an obdurate Wretch, who only wanted Skill and Power to be as infamous as any who had scoured the Seas; the Names of the three Pyrates, executed with him, were *Samuel Cole*, *George Condick* and *Henry Greenvill*.





OF
Capt. *Thomas Howard*,
And his CREW.

We have said in another Life, viz. *White's*, that he was a Lighterman on the River *Thames*, his Father was of the Business, and had the Character of a very honest Man. After his Father's Decease, he grew very extravagant, and squander'd away not only what he had left his Son, but what he had allotted for his Widow Mother to our Adventurer, whose Indulgence putting every Thing into her Son's Hands, was follow'd by being her self turn'd out of Doors, for he sold the House over her Head. After having ruin'd himself and Mother, his Friends fearing the Wickedness of his Inclinations would bring a Scandal upon them, persuaded him to go to Sea, and procur'd him a Voyage to *Jamaica*, on board a Merchant Ship. At this Island he ran away from his Ship, and associating himself with some desperate Fellows, they stole a Canoe, and went away to the grand *Camanas* to join some others of their own Stamp, who lurked thereabouts, with Design to go on the *Account*, the Term for Pyrating: They met those they look'd for, made up a Company of 20 Men, surprized and made themselves Masters of a Turtling Sloop, and set out in Search of Booty.

The first Prizes they made were only Turtlers, which, however, encreas'd the Number of their Crew, some being willing to join them, others being forced, with Threats of being set ashore on some desolate Key.

They after some Time cruizing met with an *Irish* Brigantine, who had Provisions and Servants on board. They made an Exchange with the Master, gave him Provision to carry him to *Jamaica*, and allow'd five Hands to go with him; the rest (except the Servants, who readily took on with the Pyrates) were all forced.

Not long after, they surprized a Sloop which had been trading on the *Spanish* Coast; as she had 6 Guns, and was a fit Vessel for their Turn, they chang'd her against the Brigantine; several Hands belonging to this Sloop enter'd Volunteers, and several more were obliged to join them by Compulsion.

After this Capture, they steer'd for the Coast of *Virginia*, and, in their Way, met with a large *New England* Brigantine, laden with Provisions, bound for *Barbadoes*. This they made Prize of; and shifting their own Guns on board her, sent the Master away in the Sloop; after forcing some of his Men with them. They had now a Vessel of 10 Guns, and a Crew of 80 Men, of whom one *James* was Captain, and *Howard* Quarter-Master.

While they lay on the Coast of *Virginia*, they made Prize of several Ships from *England*, out of which they took Men, Liquors, Provisions, Cloaths, and whatever else they either liked or thought necessary. As these Ships had several Felons on board, who were Transports, they had out of them a Number of Voluntiers, beside forced Men; so that they had a large Complement. Among other *Virginia* Ships which fell into their Hands, they made Prize, with little Trouble, of a fine Galley, mounted with 24 Guns, which afforded them a great many Voluntiers, as she had a Number of transported Malefactors and Servants on board. They changed their Brigantine for this Ship, and soon after, the Man of War, which waited on this Coast, heaving in Sight, they thought proper to take their Departure.

From the Coast of *Virginia*, they shap'd their Course for that of *Guiney*, where they took a great many Ships of different Nations, all which they rifled of what they thought fit: Out of these Ships they forced on board a Number of Men, equal to the Number of those formerly compell'd, who desired, and whom they permitted, to be discharged, after much Entreaty.

After they had been some Months on the Coast, they spied a large three deck'd *Portuguese* Ship from *Brazil*, mounted with 36 Guns; they gave Chase and came up with her: The Captain would make no Resistance, but his Mate, who was an *Englishman*, named *Rutland*, thinking it Shame to give up such a Ship, resolved to defend her; which the *Portuguese* Captain consented to, but went himself out of Harm's Way. *Rutland*, who had been Master of an *English* Brigantine, taken from him on the same Coast by another Gang of Pyrates, fought them the better Part of a Forenoon; but the *Portuguese* flying the Decks, and only thirty Men, who were *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, standing by him, he was obliged to ask Quarters, which were given. When the Pyrates came on board, they asked *Rutland*, if he was Commander? he answer'd, No. They enquired after him, and being told, he was somewhere in the Hold, they search'd, and found him hid in the Powder-Room; whence they hawled him up, and whipp'd him round the Deck for his Cowardice. *Rutland*, and those who fought the Ship, they forced on board, and their Complement being now 180 Men, they exchanged their Galley for the *Portuguese* Ship, carried her in Shore, and ripping off her upper Deck, made her deep wasted, and much snugger, by

cutting down some of her Gunnel. This Prize they named the *Alexander*.

They went down the Coast in this Ship, and made several Prizes, some of which they discharged, and put on board such of their forced Men as begg'd their Discharge; others, they sunk, and burnt others; but forced on board all Carpenters, Cawlkers, Armorers, Surgeons, and Musicians. In their Way to *Cape Lopez*, where they designed, and afterwards did clean, they found a large *Bristol* Ship at an Anchor, which had lost a great many Men by Sickness, and had then but few healthy on board, who got into the Boat, and endeavoured to get to Shore, but were prevented by the Pyrates: Here they changed some more of their forced Men, and did intend to change their Ship; but on a Survey, found the *Bristol* Man too old for their Purpose, and therefore left her at an Anchor, after they had taken what they thought of Use to them; this Ship belong'd to one Mr. *Godly* of *Bristol*.

They met with nothing else in their Way to *Cape Lopez*, where they clean'd their Ship, took in Wood and Water, and then stood away to Sea again.

At their leaving *Cape Lopez*, they spied an *English* Ship, which they came up with and engaged; the Merchant Man made an obstinate Defence, and finding the Design to board, made to close Quarters. *Howard* and seven or eight more entered, but the Pyrate's Boatswain not having secured his lashing, they fell a-stern, and left these Men on board the Merchant-Ship, who seeing themselves in Danger, hawl'd up the Boat, which the Chace had a-stern, and, cutting the Rope, got on board the *Alexander*, which being considerably the larger Ship, and drawing a great deal more Water, stuck on an unknown Bank, which the Merchant Man went over, and by this lucky Accident escaped.

This obliged the Pyrates to start their Water, and throw over the Wood to get the Ship off, which put 'em under a Necessity of going back to *Cape Lopez* to take in those Necessaries. After having a second time wooded and water'd, they put again to Sea, fell in with and took two *Portuguese* Brigantines, which they burnt, and setting the Men on Shoar, they made for, and doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*, and shap'd their Course for *Madagascar*, where to the Northward of, and forty Mile from, the Bay of *Augustine*, and near a small Island, they run the Ship on a Reef, where she stuck fast. The Captain being then sick in his Bed, the Men went ashoar on the small adjacent Island, and carried off a great deal of Provision and Water to lighten the Ship, on board of which none but the Captain, the Quarter-Master, and about eleven more were left.

The Quarter-Master, who was *Howard*, with the others, took all the Treasure, and put it on board the Boats, made off for the Main of *Madagascar*; the Captain, hearing no Body stir upon Deck, made shift to crawl out of his Cabbins, and seeing 'em put off, fir'd the two fore chace Guns at 'em, which alarm'd (to

no Purpose) the Men ashoar; as the Sea ebb'd, the Ship lay dry, and they could walk to her from the Island. She might have been saved had they had the Boats to carry out an Anchor; but for want of them they brought every Thing ashoar, at Tide of Flood, upon Rafts. As the Ship lay in a quiet Place, they had Opportunity to rip her up, and build a Vessel out of her Wreck. The major Part of the Crew being *English* and *Dutch*, who sided together, they forced about 36 *Portuguese* and *French* (thinking the Crew too numerous for their Provisions in their present Circumstances) to get upon a Raft, and take their Chance with the Sea-Breeze to get to the Island of *Madagascar*, about 3 Leagues from them. They finish'd a Vessel of 60 Tuns, but the Day they design'd to have launch'd her, a Pirate Brigantine hove in Sight, who took 'em on board.

Howard and his Consorts stood along the West-Side of the Island, with Design to round the North End, and to go to *St. Mary's*, but finding the Current too strong to stem, they lay there about a Fortnight; in the Interim they spied three Sail of tall Ships, which were Men of War under Commadore *Littleton*, (*viz.* the *Anglesea*, *Hastings* and *Lizard*,) who had carried a Pardon to the Island of *St. Mary*, accepted of by many of the Pyrates. Thinking these might be also Pyrates, they made a Smoak, which brought the Boats ashoar; but finding they were Men of War's Boats, the Pyrates thought fit to abscond, wherefore finding nothing, nor any Body, the said Men of War's Boats return'd, and the Ships kept their Cruise.

They had here plenty of Fish and wild Hogs, which they found in the Wood. One Day, when *Howard* was Hunting, his Comrades took the Opportunity, went off, rounded the North End, and left Mr. *Howard* to provide for himself.

About four or five and twenty Leagues from the Cape, they went into a fine Harbour on the East Side, not frequented nay, hardly known to the *European* Ships. They were here received handsomely, treated and provided with fresh Meat, and what Necessaries they wanted, by the King of this District, whose Name was *Mushmango*, who had formerly been driven from *Augustine* by War, and travelling thro' the Heart of the Country, had here fixed his Settlement. When the Boats were victualled, and while *Johnson*, who took on him the Command after they had deserted *Howard*, was ashoar with three more, the rest went off with the Boats and Booty, and stood away to the Southward, along the Coast, designing for *St. Mary's*, going every Night into some Harbour, or coming to an Anchor under some Point when the Winds proved contrary.

Johnson addressed himself to the King, and told him the Boat and Goods were his Property; upon which he went along Shore with a Number of Men, and found the Boat at an Anchor, and all asleep, except one to look out, at whom the King fired his Blunderbuss, and kill'd him; the Report of the Piece awaken'd the

others, who cut and stood off the Coast. The King return'd, gave *Johnson* an Account of his Expedition, and furnish'd him a Canoe, some Calabashes of fresh Water, Provisions and Launces, that he might pursue after his People.

Johnson kept the Shoar on Board till he came to the Island of *St. Mary's*, where he heard his Comrade Fugitives were gone to, and settled at *Ambonavoula*, in a Village belonging to the Natives on the River of *Manansallang*; leaving his Canoe, he went into one belonging to an Inhabitant, who carried him to his Companions.

After he had been here some few Months *Fourgette*, already mention'd in *White's* Life, came in with his Ship from *Martinico*: With this Vessel they sail'd to the West-Side, and came to an Anchor at an Island called *Anquawla*, 30 Leagues from the Place where they left *Howard*.

Some of the Subjects of the King of *Anquawla* had before met with, and brought hither, Captain *Howard*, who seeing the Ship at an Anchor near Shore, haled her, and desired the Boat might be sent to fetch him off, which was accordingly done, and he joined the rest of the Crew.

Here two Boys ran away from them, whom they demanded of the King; but he not delivering them, they went ashore by Day-Break, surpriz'd his Town, and brought off 12 of his Concubines, whom they detain'd on board, till their Boys, who were Blacks, were returned, and then delivered them back. From this Ship he went on board the *Speaker*, where he continued till she was lost on *Mauritius*, when he came back to *Madagascar*, and settled at *Augustine*, here he staid till the *Prosperous*, a Ship of 36 Guns, commanded by Captain *Hilliard*, came in; which *Howard* and some other Pyrates, (with the Assistance of the Boatswain and some of the Crew belonging to the Ship) seized. In the taking of this Ship, the Captain and his chief Mate were killed, and several others wounded. *Howard* was by the Company declared Captain.

Several of the Ship's Crew took on with them, and they went round the South End to the East Side, till they came the Length of *Maritan*, where they found some of the *Speaker's* Company, whom they took on board, and made up their Complement about 70 Men.

From hence they steer'd for the Island of *St. Mary*, where they heel'd their Ship, water'd, wooded, and shipp'd some more Hands: Here they had an Invitation from one *Ort Van Tyle*, who liv'd on the Main of *Madagascar*, to come to the Ceremony of christening two of his Children; they were kindly received and treated by him, but it having been reported, that this *Ort Van Tyle* had murdered some Pyrates, they in Revenge, tho' they had no Certainty of the Fact, took him Prisoner, plunder'd his House, and what Goods they could not take off in a great Canoe belonging to him, they threw into the River or burnt.

Ort Van Tyle they design'd to carry on board, and hang at a Yard Arm, but one of the Pyrates help'd him to escape, and he took into the Woods, where meeting some of his Blacks, he way-laid his Canoe, and *Howard's* Pinnace by the River Side; besides what Goods they had on board of this *Dutchman's*, they had several Women and Children belonging to him, and some white Men, who had left them under his Care. The Pyrates set the Women to the Paddles, and the Canoe was over-set on the Bar; *Ort Van Tyle* fired on the Men, and shot one thro' the Arm and thro' the Thigh, whom with his Comrade, he took Prisoner, and kept with him: The rest of the Men got ashore on the South-Side the River and escaped him; the Women on the North-Side, and returned home. When the *Pinnace* came down, he fir'd and shot the Captain thro' the Arm, but he got on board, where his Arm was set. After this, the *Prosperous* sail'd for *Methelage*, where they victualled, with a Design to go to the *East-Indies*; while he lay here, came in a large *Dutch* Ship, well mann'd, and of 40 Guns; the *Prosperous* was not strong enough to attack her, and the *Dutch* fearing he should spoil his Trade, would not meddle with Captain *Howard*, tho' hard Words pass'd, and the *Dutchmen* threatned to fall foul on him if he did not leave the Place, which *Howard* thought fit to do, and sail'd to *Mayotta*.

Few Days after the Departure of the *Prosperous*, Captain *Bowen*, in the *Scotch* Ship, came in, anchored within small Arm-Shot, and right a-head of the *Dutchman*, whom he saluted with 11 Guns Shot and all, which the other returned, with 15 after the same Manner; Drums beating, and Trumpets sounding, on both Sides. The *Dutchman*, however, was surprized, and under Apprehensions; he hal'd the Pyrate, and answer was return'd, *From the Seas*; he then bid 'em send their Boat on Board, which accordingly went with the Quarter-Master, who told the Captain, that they had no Design on him, but were going against the *Moors*, and came in for Provision; he replied, they could get none there, and the best Way was to be gone; however the Quarter-Master went ashore (where the *Dutch* had made his Factory, and had some Goods) and shot down three Oxen, which he ordered the Natives to help to cut in Pieces; the *Dutchman* perceiving a Friendship between the Natives and Pyrates, seeing *Bowen* full of Men, and hearing two more Pyrates were expected, thought fit to go off in the Night, and leave the Goods he had put on shore.

Few Days after *Bowen* seizing the Goods left, went for *Mayotta*, where he join'd the *Prosperous*, and lay for the Season to go to the *East-Indies*. After some Stay here, their Salt Provisions perishing, they return'd to *Madagascar* to revictual, *Bowen* to *St. Augustin's*, and *Howard* (on board of whose Ship was Captain *Whaley*, taken as is said in *Bowen's* Life) to *Methelage*, agreeing to meet at the Island of *St. John's*, to lie for the *Moors* Fleet; where, after some

Disappoints, they met, and got Sight of the *Moors* Fleet, one of which fell a Prize to *Bowen*; but the *Prosperous* being a heavy Sailor, did not come up with them till they were at an Anchor at the Bar of *Surat*, where they waited to lighten. The *Moors*, seeing few Hands on board, for *Howard* concealed his Men; and not imagining a Pyrate would venture up, they concluded him an *English East-India* Man: *Howard* clapp'd the largest on board, which stood him a smart Engagement, and killed him about 30 Men. At length the Pyrates forced Captain *Whaley*, who spoke the *Moors* Language, to go on board and offer Quarter, which they accepted: There was on board this Prize a Nobleman belonging to the Great *Mogul*, who had been at *Juffa* to buy Horses for his Master; the Prize yielded them a great Booty, tho' they found but Part of the Money which was on board. They intended to carry her to *Madagascar*, but her Bowsprit being wounded in the boarding, she lost all her Masts, wherefore, they set her a-drift, and she ran ashore at *Deman*, belonging to the *Portuguese*.

From hence he steer'd to the *Malabar* Coast, where he met *Bowen* in his Prize, which mounted 56 Guns; here a Dispute arose, as shall be mention'd in the Appendix of *Bowen's* Life, both Crews went on board *Bowen*, sunk the *Prosperous*, and burnt the *Scotch* Ship, called the *Speedy Return*: Hence they stood along the Coast of *India*, and *Howard*, with about 20 more, landed with what they had, and retired among the Natives, where *Howard* married a Woman of the Country, and being a morose ill natur'd Fellow, and using her ill, he was murder'd by her Relations.





OF
Captain *LEWIS*.
And his CREW.

This worthy Gentleman was an early Pyrate; we first find him a Boy on Board the Pyrate *Banister*, who was hang'd at the Yard Arm of a Man of War in sight of *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*. This *Lewis* and another Boy were taken with him, and brought into the Island hanging by the Middle at the Mizzen-Peak. He had a great Aptitude for Languages, and spoke perfectly well that of the *Mosquill Indians*, the *French*, *Spanish* and *English*. I mention our own, because it is doubted whether he was *French* or *English*, for we cannot trace him back to his Original.

He sailed out of *Jamaica* till he was a lusty Lad, and was then taken by the *Spaniards* at the *Havana*, where he staid some Time; but at length he and six more ran away with a small Canoe, and surprized a *Spanish* Periagua, out of which two Men joined them, so that they were now nine in Company: With this Periagua they surprized a Turtleing Sloop, and forced some of the Hands to take on with them, the others they sent away in the Periagua.

He play'd at this small Game, surprising and taking Coasters and Turtlers, till with forced Men and Voluntiers he made up a Complement of 40 Men.

With these he took a large Pink built Ship, bound from *Jamaica* to the Bay of *Campeachy*, and after her several others bound to the said Bay; and having Intelligence that there lay in the Bay a fine *Bermudas* built Brigantine of 10 Guns, commanded by Captain *Tucker*; he sent the Captain of the Pink to him with a Letter, the Purport of which was, that he wanted such a Brigantine, and if he would part with her, he would pay him honestly 10000 Pieces of Eight; if he refused this, he would take Care to lie in his Way, for he was resolved, either by fair or foul Means, to have the Vessel. Captain *Tucker* having read the Letter, sent for the Masters of Vessels then lying in the Bay, and told them, after he had shewn the Letter, that if they would made him up 54 Men (for there were about 10 *Bermudas* Sloops) he would go out and fight the Pyrates. They said, No, they

would not hazard their Men, they depended on their Sailing, and every one must take Care of himself as well as he could.

However, they all put to Sea together, and spied a Sail under the Land, which had a Breeze while they lay becalmed; some said he was a Turtler, others, the Pyrate, and so it proved; for it was honest Captain *Lewis*, who putting out his Oars, got in among them. Some of the Sloops had four Guns, some two, some none. *Joseph Dill* had two, which he brought on one Side, and fired smartly at the Pyrate, but unfortunately one of them split, and killed him three Men. *Tucker* called to all the Sloops to send him Men, and he would fight *Lewis*, but to no Purpose; no Body came on board him. In the mean while a Breeze sprung up, and *Tucker* trimming his Sails left them, who all fell a Prey to the Pyrate; into whom however he fired a Broadside at going off. One Sloop, whose Master I won't Name, was a very good Sailer, and was going off; but *Lewis* firing a Shot at him, brought her to, and he lay by till all the Sloops were visited and secured. Then *Lewis* sent on board him, and ordered the Master into his Sloop. As soon as he was aboard, he asked the Reason of his lying by, and betraying the Trust his Owners had reposed in him, which was doing like a Knave and Coward, and he would punish him accordingly; for, he said, you might have got off, being so much a better Sailer than my Vessel. After this Speech he fell upon him with a Rope's End, and then snatching up his Cane, drove him about the Decks without Mercy. The Master, thinking to pacify him, told him he had been out trading in that Sloop several Months, and had on board a good Quantity of Money, which was hid, and which, if he would send on board a Black belonging to the Owners, he would discover it to him.

This had not the desired Effect, but one quite contrary; for *Lewis* told him he was a Rascal and Villain for this Discovery, and, by G—d, he would pay him for betraying his Owners, and redoubled his Strokes. However, he sent and took the Money and Negroe, who was an able Sailor. He took out of his Prizes what he had occasion for, 40 able Negroe Sailors, and a white Carpenter; the largest Sloop, which was about 90 Tuns, he took for his own Use, and mounted her with 12 Guns; his Crew was now about 80 Men, Whites and Blacks.

After these Captures he cruised in the Gulf of *Florida*, lying in wait for the *West-India* homeward bound Ships which took the Leeward Passage, several of which falling into his Hands were plundered by him, and released; from hence he went to the Coast of *Carolina*, where he cleaned his Sloop, and a great many Men, whom he had forced, ran away from him; however, the Natives traded with him for Rum and Sugar, and brought him all he wanted, without the Government's having any Knowledge of him, for he had got into a very private Creek; tho' he was very much on his Guard, that he might not be surprized from

the Shoar.

From *Carolina* he cruized on the Coast of *Virginia*, where he took and plunder'd several Merchant Men, and forced several Men, and then return'd to the Coast of *Carolina*, where he did abundance of Mischief.

As he had now abundance of *French* on board who had entered with him, and *Lewis* hearing the *English* had a Design to Maroon them, he secured the Men he suspected, and put them in a Boat, with all the other *English*, 10 Leagues from Shoar, with only 10 Pieces of Beef, and sent them away, keeping none but *French* and Negroes; these Men, it is supposed, all perished in the Sea.

From the Coast of *Carolina* he shaped his Course for the Banks of *Newfoundland*, where he overhauled several Fishing Vessels, and then went into a commodious Harbour, where he cleaned his Sloop, and went into *Trinity Harbour* in *Conception Bay*, where there lay several Merchants, and siezed a 24 Gun Galley, called the *Herman*: The Commander, Captain *Beal*, told *Lewis*, if he would send his Quarter-Master ashoar he would furnish him with Necessaries. He being sent ashoar, a Council was held among the Masters, the Consequence of which was, the seizing the Quarter-Master, whom they carried to Captain *Woodes Rogers*; he chained him to a Sheet Anchor which was ashoar, and planted Guns at the Point, to prevent the Pyrate getting out, but to little Purpose; for the People from one of these Points firing too soon, *Lewis* quitted the Ship, and, by the Help of Oars and the Favour of the Night, got out in his Sloop, though she received many Shot in her Hull. The last Shot that was fired at the Pyrate did him considerable Damage.

He lay off and on the Harbour, swearing he would have his Quarter-Master, and intercepted two fishing Shallops, on board of one was the Captain of the Galley's Brother; he detained them, and sent Word, if his Quarter-Master did not immediately come off, he would put all his Prisoners to Death; he was sent on board him without Hesitation. *Lewis* and the Crew enquired, how he had been used? and he answered, very civilly. Its well, said the Pyrate; for had you been ill treated, I would have put all these Rascals to the Sword. They were dismiss'd, and the Captain's Brother going over the Side, the Quarter-Master stopp'd him, saying, he must drink the Gentlemens Health ashoar, in particular Captain *Rogers*', and, whispering him in the Ear, told him, if the Crew had known of his being chain'd all Night, he would have been cut in Pieces, with all his Men. After this poor Man and his Shallop's Company were gone, the Quarter-Master told the Usage he had met with, which enraged *Lewis*, and made him reproach his Quarter-Master, whose Answer was, that he did not think it just the Innocent should suffer for the Guilty.

The Masters of the Merchant Men sent to Captain *Tudor Trevor*, who lay at

St. John's in the *Sheerness* Man of War; he immediately got under Sail, and miss'd the Pyrate but four Hours.

She kept along the Coast, and made several Prizes, *French* and *English*, and put into a Harbour where a *French* Ship lay making Fish: She was built at the latter End of the War for a Privateer, was an excellent Sailer, and mounted 24 Guns. The Commander hailed him; the Pyrate answered, from *Jamaica* with Rum and Sugar. The *French* Man bid him go about his Business; that a Pyrate Sloop was on the Coast, and he might be the Rogue; if he did not immediately sheer off he would fire a Broadside into him. He went off and lay a Fortnight out at Sea, so far as not to be descry'd from Shoar, with Resolution to have the Ship. The *French* Man being on his Guard, in the mean while raised a Battery on the Shoar, which commanded the Harbour. After a Fortnight, when he was thought to be gone off, he return'd, and took two of the fishing Shallops belonging to the *French* Man, and manning them with Pyrates, they went in; one Shallop attack'd the Battery, the other surpriz'd, boarded, and carry'd the Ship, just as the Morning Star appear'd, for which Reason he gave her that Name. In the Engagement the Owner's Son was kill'd, who made the Voyage out of Curiosity only. The Ship being taken, 7 Guns were fired, which was the Signal, and the Sloop came down and lay a Long-side the Ship. The Captain told him, he suppos'd he only wanted his Liquor; but *Lewis* made Answer, he wanted his Ship, and accordingly hoisted all his Ammunition and Provision into her. When the *French* Man saw they would take away his Ship, he sold her Trim, and *Lewis* gave him the Sloop; and, excepting what he took for Provision, all the Fish he had made. Several of the *French* took on with him, who, with others, *English* and *French*, had by Force or voluntarily, made him up 200 Men.

From *Newfoundland* he steer'd for the Coast of *Guiney*, where he took a great many Ships, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*; among these Ships was one belonging to *Carolina*, commanded by Captain *Smith*. While he was in Chace of this Vessel an Accident happen'd, which made his Men believe he dealt with the Devil; for he carried away his Fore and Main-Top Mast; and he, *Lewis*, running up the Shrouds to the Main-Top, tore off a Handful of Hair, and throwing it into the Air, used this Expression, *Good Devil take this till I come*: And, it was observed, that he came afterwards faster up with the Chace than before the Loss of his Top-Masts.

Smith being taken, *Lewis* used him very civilly, and gave him as much, or more in Value, than he took from him, and let him go, saying, he would come to *Carolina* when he had made Money on the Coast, and would rely on his Friendship.

They kept some Time on the Coast, when they quarrell'd among themselves,

the *French* and *English*, of which the former was more numerous, and they resolved to part: The *French* therefore chose a large Sloop newly taken, thinking the Ship's Bottom, which was not Sheath'd, damaged by the Worms.

According to this Agreement they took on board what Ammunition and Provision they thought fit out of the Ship, and put off, chusing one *le Barre* Captain. As it blew hard, and the Decks were encumbered, they came to an Anchor under the Coast, to stow away their Ammunition, Goods, &c. *Lewis* told his Men, they were a Parcel of Rogues, and he would make 'em refund; accordingly run a Long-side his Guns, being all loaded and new primed, and ordered him to cut away his Mast, or he would sink him. *Le Barre* was obliged to obey. Then he ordered them all ashoar; they begged to have Liberty of carrying their Arms, Goods, &c. with 'em, but he allow'd 'em only their small Arms, and Cartridge Boxes. Then he brought the Sloop a Long-side, put every Thing on board the Ship, and sunk the Sloop.

Le Barre and the rest begg'd to be taken on board; however, though he denied 'em, he suffered *le Barre* and some few to come, with whom he and his Men drank plentifully. The Negroes on board *Lewis* told him, the *French* had a Plot against him. He answer'd, he could not withstand his Destiny; for the Devil told him in the great Cabin, he should be murdered that Night.

In the dead of Night came the rest of the *French* on board in Canoes, got into the Cabbin and killed *Lewis*; they fell on the Crew, but, after an Hour and Half's Dispute, the *French* were beat off, and the Quarter-Master, *John Cornelius*, an Irish Man, succeeded *Lewis*.





OF
Captain *Cornelius*,
And his CREW.

HAVING now the Command of the *Morning Star*, *Cornelius* kept on the Coast, and made several Prizes both *English* and *Portuguese*; the former he always discharged, after he had taken what he thought fitting, but the latter he commonly burnt.

While he was thus ravaging the Coast, two *English* Ships which had slaved at *Whydah*, one of 36 Guns, and the other of 12, which fought close, were ready to sail; and having Notice of a Pyrate, who had done great Mischief, resolved to keep Company together for their Defence. The Captain of the small Ship lay sick in his Cabbín, and she was left to the Care of the Mates. When they had got under Sail, 200 Negroes jump'd over board from the larger Ships, which obliged her to bring to and get out her Boats; the Mate of the other went into the Cabbín, told the Accident, and advised lying by, and sending their Boats to assist their Consort; but the Captain being ill, and willing to get off the Coast, bid him keep on his Way, for it would be dangerous, having 400 Slaves on board, and being but weakly mann'd, when the Boats were gone they might rise upon him. The Mate urged the Danger of the Pyrates, should they leave their Consort. The Captain answered, the Seas were wide, and he would not bring to; accordingly they kept on their Way with a fresh Gale.

Two Days after, the Mate about Eight in the Morning, ordered a Man to the Mast-head, who spied a Sail, which made them prepare for an Engagement. There was on board one *Joseph Williams*, who had served the *African* Company three Years on the *Guiney* Coast, who spoke the Negroe Tongue very well; he told the Slaves he had pick'd out to the Number of 50, that the Ship in Sight he believed would fight them, and if they got the better, would certainly, as they were Cannibals, kill and eat them all, and therefore it behoved them to fight for their Lives; they had Lances and small Arms given them.

About Ten *Cornelius* came up with them, and being haled, answered, he was a

Man of War, in Search of Pyrates, and bid them send their Boat on board; but they refusing to trust him, tho' he had *English* Colours and Pendent aboard, the Pyrate fired a Broadside, and they began a running Fight of about 10 Hours, in which Time the Negroes discharged their Arms so smartly, that *Cornelius* never durst attempt to board. About 8 at Night the Ship blew up abaft, they immediately cut the Lashings of the Long-Boat, but the Ship going down they had not Time to get her out, and barely enough to launch the Yawl, which lay on the Forecastle. The Ship went down on one Side, and *Joseph Williams* running on the other was hook'd by the Mizzen-Truss, and was carried down with her; but having his Knife in his Hand, and a great Presence of Mind, he cut the Wast-band of his Trowzers where he was catch'd, got clear, and swam after the Boat, into which about 16 had gotten, and either knock'd those on the Head, or cut off their Hands, who laid hold on it; however, with much Entreaty, he was permitted to lay one Hand on to ease him: They made to the Pyrate, who refused to receive them, without they would enter with him, which, to save their Lives, they all agreed to, and was then civilly received, and dry Cloaths given them; these and one Negroe were all the Souls saved.

In a little Time after this he took two *Portuguese* Ships, which he plundered and kept with him; and one foggy Morning hearing the firing of Guns, which, by the distance of Time, he judg'd to be Minute Guns, as they really were, for the Death of an *English* Commander; he called his Men on board from the Prizes, sent them about their Business, and directed his Course by the Report of the Canon he had heard.

In about two Hours he spied the Ship that had fired, came up with her very soon, and took her without Resistance. The Officers of the Ship which blew up, finding this Prize *English*, and that the Pyrate did not intend to detain it, begg'd to be discharged, as they had all large Families, which must perish without their Support.

Cornelius taking them into Consideration, discharged Mr. *Powis* of *Limehouse*, who has since been a Commander, and raised a Fortune; the then chief Mate, Mr. *George Forelong*, the Boatswain, Carpenter, and other married Men, set them on board the Prize, and was very generous to them out of the Plunder of the *Portuguese* Ships, because they had made a broken Voyage; but *Joseph Williams* and the Batchelors he detained, and forced some out of the Prize, which he let go.

After this he took three *Portuguese* Ships at an Anchor, which he plundered and burnt, after he had hove down by one of them; he continued some Time longer on the Coast, did a great Deal of Mischief to the Trade, and forced a great many Men: These he put to do all the Slavery of the Ship, and they were beat

about the Decks, without daring to strike again. I shall take Notice of an Instance of this Kind, to shew how far Revenge will carry a Man. One *Robert Bland* was at Helm, and called *Joseph Williams* to take the Whipstaff, till he went to play, *Williams* refused it; upon which *Bland* drubb'd him with the Lanyard of the Whipstaff very severely, *Williams* that he might revenge himself, and have Liberty to fight *Bland*, went that Instant and entered himself a Voluntier in the Ships Books, and ask'd Leave to fight *Bland*, which was allowed him, but with no other Weapons than his Fists; he, however, challenged his Antagonist, who was too hard for him; so that he turned Pyrate to be heartily thresh'd.

Cornelius thinking they had been long enough on the *Guiney* Coast, doubled the Cape, off which he spied the *Lizard* and two more Men of War, under the Command of Commadore *Littleton*; *Cornelius* was for giving Chase, but finding his Men unwilling, there being, as they gave for Reason, 70 forc'd Men on board, and these Ships being, as they suspected, Men of War, he made the best of his Way for *Madagascar*, went up the River *Methelage*, on the West Side, and anchored against *Pombotoque*, a small Village of Blacks.

The Quarter-Master went ashore, and the black Governor examined him, for several of these Blacks speak *English*; he told the Governor they were come for Provision and to trade: Upon which he sent a Couple of Oxen on board, and then ordered some of the Inhabitants to go up with the Quarter-Master to the King. The Boat's Crew seeing a Number of Blacks come upon the Strand without the Quarter-Master, apprehended some Mischief had befallen him; but were eas'd of their Fears, when they saw two Oxen given them, and were told, the white Man, who was gone to the King, would be back next Day, it not being above 20 Miles from the Shore.

When the Quarter-Master, who carried up a Blunderbuss, a fine Gun, and a Pair of Pistols, for a Present to the King, told him they wanted Provisions, he asked where they were bound? To which he answered, to seek their Fortunes, for, at present, they were very poor. Look ye, replied the King, I require nothing of you, all white Men I look upon as my Children; they help'd me to conquer this Country, and all the Cattle in it is at their Service. I will send you down Provisions enough, and when that is spent you shall have more; he accordingly sent 1000 Head of Cattle, out of which he bid them chuse what they would, and they salted up a 100 fat Oxen.

It may be an Amusement to the Reader to have a short History of this King, who was called *Andian Chimenatto*, that is, King *Chimenatto*: He was 2d Son of *Andian Lifouchy*, whose Country lay between *Methelage* and *St. Augustine*, his elder Brother was *Timanangarivo*.

At the Death of *Andian Lifouchy*, *Chimenatto*, assisted by a younger Brother,

and a great Number of the People, endeavour'd to wrest the Kingdom from his elder Brother *Timanangarivo*; but he was defeated, and with his Party obliged to retire, however, he still made War upon his Brother, till he was, by repeated Losses, very much weaken'd, and apprehensive of being attack'd by him; he retir'd farther Northward, where he made War on *Andian Methelage*, but without great Success, so that he settled on a Point of Land by the Sea-Coast, where the *Tyloutes*, that is, Inhabitants of the Sea, who are descended from the *Arabs*, and the *Vaujimbos*, who are esteem'd the meanest Cast on the whole Island, were very vexatious and troublesome to him, and kept him in continual Alarms.

In the mean while a couple of Ships arrived at *Yungowl* (the Country of *Timanangarivo*) belonging to *Frederick Phillips*, of *New York*, to slave; but hearing the old King was dead, who had a great Respect for the Whites, and that *Timanangarivo* had cut off the Crew of a Brigantine, on Pretence that they had poison'd his Father *Andian Lyfouchy*, for he drunk on board her so much Brandy that he died of it; they would not stay here, but went farther on the Coast to look for Trade.

Andian Chimenatto spying them, caused a Smoak to be made, which brought one of their Boats on Shoar; *Chimenatto* received the Crew very civilly, and invited the Ships in, promising Trade.

The Commanders ask'd if he had Slaves? He said he had but few; however, if they would allow some of their Men to go with him to War, he would slave both Ships: They answered, that *Timanangarivo* his Brother, had murder'd some of their Countrymen, and they could put no Confidence in him; upon which he gave them the History of his Wars, said his Brother was a wicked Man for what he had done; but if they would send some Men with him, he would give his Wives and nearest Relations for Hostages, to be kept on board.

This was agreed to, and *Chimenatto* furnished them with as much fresh Provision as they could dispose of; twenty Whites went with him to War, and they took a Town and a great Number of Slaves, out of whom he ordered the Captain to pick and cull what they pleas'd; they asked the Price, he said, he required nothing, if they would let their Men go out once more. They went on a second Expedition, took several Towns, and brought down some thousand Slaves, beside great Drovers of Cattle.

The two Ships took their Choice of about 6000 Slaves, which with fresh Provision, and Provision for their Voyage, cost them only 2 or 3 Barrels of Powder, and a few Arms.

The King told them, if they would leave those Men and come again, he would again slave them for nothing; the Men being willing to stay, the Ships sail'd, came again the next Season, were slaved according to Promise, and relieved

those whites, such of them as would return, and left others, who were willing, in their Steads. With this Assistance *Chimenatto* soon conquered the *Antylouts* and *Vaujimbos*, and afterwards made himself Master of the whole Country of *Methelage*, of such Reputation are the *Europeans* among these People, for they who have a white Man on their Side go on as to certain Victory; and the Sight of a white Man against them is such a Damp to their Spirits, that despairing of Success, they are preparing for Flight before they engage.

But to return, besides the Present of Oxen, the King sent 100 Blacks laden with Rice. *Cornelius* sent him a Present of 2 Barrels of Powder, and would have given him more, with small Arms in Return, but he sent them Word he would have no more, nor any of their Arms, not being in Want of either; on the contrary, if they wanted he would send them ten Barrels of Powder, as they were his Children; bid them proceed on their Voyage, and if they were richer when they came back, and would send him any Present, he would accept it, but not now that they were poor.

Here *Cornelius* lost 70 Men by their Excesses, having been long without fresh Provision, the eating immoderately, drinking Toke (a Liquor made of Honey) to Excess, and being too free with the Women, they fell into violent Fevers, which carried them off.

The Blacks having given *Cornelius* an Account of the *Speaker's* being sail'd from *Methelage* about three Months before for the *East-Indies*, he, having taken in his Provisions, steer'd the same Course, in Hopes to join in Consort with her; but the *Speaker* lying off the *Red Sea*, and the *Morning Star* going into the Gulf of *Persia* they never met: They run up a pretty Way in the Gulf, and lay under *Antelope* Island, where they kept a Look-out, and whence they made their Excursions, and took a Number of Prizes.

Here they designed to heave down and clean, and they had got a good Part of their Goods and Water Casks ashore, when the Look-out discovered two tall Ships, one of them wearing a Flag at the Foretop-Mast Head; this put them into a great Confusion, they got what Casks and Necessaries they could on board, and lay till the Ships came a-breast of them; then they got under Sail at once, their Sails being furl'd with Rope Yarns, and came close along-side the larger Ship, which was a *Portuguese* of 70 Guns, as the other was of 26; they exchanged a Broadside with her, and the smaller Ship engaged her so close, that they threw Hand Grenades into each other; but *Cornelius's* Business was to run, and the great Ship put a Stays twice to follow him, but missing, was obliged to Ware, which gave the Pyrate a great Advantage; the small Ship in staying, tail'd aground, she, however, gave Chase till she had run a good Way a-head of her Consort, which the Pyrate seeing, brought to, and stay'd for her, as did the

Portuguese for her Consort, not caring to engage him singly. When it was quite dark *Cornelius* ran up the other Shore, pass'd the *Portuguese* Ships (which kept down the Gulf) and came again to Anchor at his old Station, where he found his Enemies had been ashore in their Boats and staved his Casks; he here cleaned, and finding no Money to be got out of any Prizes made, and Bale Goods being of little Value to them, they from hence went away to the Island of *Johanna*, where it was designed to moroon the Blacks, who were the greater Number, and all bred among the *English*; *Joseph Williams*, fearing they would next moroon the *English*, who were not above a third of the whites, gave the Negroes Notice of the Design, who secured all the Arms of the Ship, and gave *Williams* the Command till they should get to *Madagascar*, keeping a good Guard on the *French* and *Dutch*. When they came to *Methelage* they gave the Ship to the King, her Bottom being eaten so much with the Worms, that she was no longer fit for Service; and they all went and lived with the new King *Chimave*, Son to *Andian Chimenatto*, who died before their Return: About five Months after they broke up, *Cornelius* died, and was buried with the usual Ceremony.





OF
Capt. David Williams,
And his CREW.

This Man was born in *Wales*, of very poor Parents, who bred him up to the Plough and the following of Sheep, the only Things he had any Notion of till he went to Sea. He was never esteem'd among the Pyrates as a Man of good natural Parts, perhaps, on account of his Ignorance of Letters, for, as he had no Education, he knew as little of the sailing a Ship, set aside the Business of a foremast Man, as he did of History, in which, and natural Philosophy, he was equally vers'd: He was of a morose, sour, unsociable Temper, very cholerick, and easily resented as an Affront what as brave and a more knowing Man would not think worth Notice; but he was not cruel, neither did he turn Pyrate from a wicked or avaritious Inclination, but by Necessity, and we may say, tho' he was no forced Man, he could not well avoid that Life he fell into.

When he was grown a lusty Lad he would see the World, and go seek his Fortune, as the Term is among the Country Youths, who think fit to withdraw themselves from the Subjection of their Parents; with this Whim in his Head he got to *Chester*, where he was received, and sailed on board a Coaster, till he had made himself acquainted with the Rigging, learned to knot, splice, and do the other Parts of a common Sailor's Duty; then coming to *London*, he shipp'd himself on board the *Mary India* Man, bound for *Bengal* and *Maderas*, which Voyage he performed outward, and it was not his Fault that he did not come home in the same Ship; for, in her Return, falling short of Water, they steer'd for the Island of *Madagascar*, and fell in with the East Side, in the Lat. of 20, or thereabouts. The Captain mann'd and sent ashore the Long-Boat to seek for Water, but a large Surf running, she came to an Anchor, at some little Distance from Shore, and *David Williams* with another, being both good Swimmers, stripp'd and swam off in Search of Water: While they were ashore, the Wind which blew full upon the Island and freshning, the Surf ran too high for them to get off; and the Long-Boat, after waiting some time, seeing no Possibility of

getting these Men on board, weigh'd and stood for the Ship, which filled her Sails and stood for St. *Augustine's* Bay, where she watered and proceeded on her Voyage.

Thus our poor *Welshman* and his Companion were left destitute on an Island altogether unknown to them, without Cloaths or Subsistence, but what the Fruits of the Trees offer'd. They rambled some little Time along the Coast, and were met with by the Natives, and by them carried up into the Country, where they were humanly treated, and provided with all the Necessaries of Life, tho' this was not sufficient to expel his Consort's Melancholy, who took his being left behind so much to Heart, that he sicken'd and died in a very little Time.

Some time after, the Prince of the Country, who entertained *Williams*, had a Quarrel with a neighbouring King, which broke into a War. *Williams* took the Field with his Patron, but the Enemy being superior in Number, got the Victory, and took a great many Prisoners, among whom was the unfortunate *Welshman*: The King, whose Prisoner he was, treated him very kindly; and being Master of an old Musket, gave it him, saying, 'such Arms were better in the Hands of a white Man than in those of any of his Subjects, who were not so much used to them; that he should be his Friend and Companion, and should fare as well as himself, if he would assist him in his Wars.'

It will not be amiss here to take Notice, that this Island, on the East Side, is divided into a great Number of Principalities or Kingdoms, which are almost in continual War one with another; the Grounds of which are very trivial, for they will pick a Quarrel with a Neighbour, especially, if he has a Number of Cattle (in which, and Slaves, consist their Riches) on the slightest Occasion, that they may have an Opportunity of Plunder; and when a Battle or two is lost, the conquer'd makes his Peace, by delivering up such a certain Number of Bullocks and Slaves as shall be demanded by the victorious Prince. On the West Side of the Island, the Principalities are mostly reduced under one Prince, who resides near *Methelage*, and who is, as we have said in the Lives of other Pyrates, a great Friend to white Men; for his Father, who founded his Empire by the Assistance of the *Europeans*, left it in Charge with his Son, to assist them with what Necessaries they should require, and do them all friendly Offices; but if he disobeyed this Command, and should ever fall out with the white Men, or spill any of their Blood, he threaten'd to come again, turn him out of his Kingdom, and give it to his younger Brother. These Menaces had a very great Effect upon him, for he firmly believed his Father would, on his Disobedience, put them in Execution; for there is not on Earth, a Race of Men equally superstitious.

But to return to *Williams*, he lived with this Prince in great Tranquility, and was very much esteem'd by him (for Necessity taught him Complaisance) after

some time, his new Patron was informed, that his vanquish'd Enemy had form'd a grand Alliance, in order to make War upon him; wherefore, he resolved to begin, and march into the Countries of the Allies, and ravage the nearest before they could join their Forces. He rais'd an Army, and accordingly march'd Southward; at the News of his Approach, the Inhabitants abandoned all the small Towns, and sending Messengers to their Friends, rais'd a considerable Body to oppose him, suffering him to over-run a great Deal of Ground without Molestation. At length being reinforced, they took their Opportunity, and setting upon him when his Men were fatigued, and his Army incumber'd with Booty, they gained a signal Victory; the King had the good Luck to get off, but *Williams* was a second Time taken Prisoner.

He was carried before the Conqueror, who, (having been an Eye-witness of his Bravery, for *Williams* kill'd a Number of his Enemies with his Shot, and behav'd very well, defending himself with the Butt End of his Musket for some Time, when he was surrounded) reach'd him his Hand, and told him, he made War with his Enemies only, that he did not esteem the White Men such, but should be glad of their Friendship.

Here *Williams* was used with more Respect than he had been even by his last Patron, and lived with this Prince some Years; but a War breaking out, he was routed in a set Battle, in which *Williams* was his Companion; in the Pursuit the poor *Welshman* finding he could not get off, clapp'd his Musket at the Foot of a Tree, and climbing up, he capitulated: He was now terribly afraid of being cut to Pieces, for he had shot and wounded a great Number of the Enemy; they, however, promis'd him good Quarter, and kept their Word.

The King of *Maratan*, who took him, used him as well as any of the former had done; and carried him always with him to the Wars, in which Fortune was more propitious, for the Parties *Williams* commanded had constantly the better of their Enemies, and never returned but with great Booties of Cattle and Slaves, for all the Prisoners they take are so, till redeem'd; tho' these Prisoners are, for the most part, Women and Children, they seldom giving Quarter to any other.

The Fame of his Bravery and Success, spread it self round the Country; and his Name alone was so terrible, that the giving out he was at the Head of any Party, was giving the Enemies an Overthrow without a Battle.

This reaching the Ears of *Dempaino*, a mighty Prince who lived 200 Miles from him, and who had several Petty Princes Tributaries, he sent an Ambassador to demand the White Man; but his Patron, who had no Mind to part with him, denied that he had any White Man with him, that he who was called so was a Native of the Country. For the Readers better understanding this Passage, I must inform him, that there is a Race of what they call White Men, who have been

settled on *Madagascar*, Time out of Mind, and are descended from the *Arabs*; but mixing with the Negroes, have propagated a Race of Molattoes, who differ in nothing from the Manner of living of the Black Natives.

To proceed, the Ambassador desired to see this Man, and *Williams* coming to him, being extremely tann'd, he had pass'd for what he was reported, had he been before apprized of what had been said, to have answered accordingly, for he spoke the Language perfectly; or had the Ambassador not examined him; who, after he had some Time viewed him, ask'd of what Country he was, and whether it was true that he was one of *Madagascar*? *Williams* answered, he was an *Englishman*, and was left in the Country, relating the Particulars, as I have already set them down, adding, he had been five Years in the Island.

The Ambassador then told the King, that he must send the White Man with him, for such were the Orders of his Master the great *Dempaino*, who was Lord over most of the Kings on the Side the Country where he resided; and that it would be dangerous for him to disobey the Commands of so great a Monarch.

The King answered, those who were subject to *Dempaino* ought to obey his Commands, but for him, he knew no Man greater than himself, therefore should receive Laws from none; and with this Answer dismiss'd the Ambassador; who, at his Return, reported to his Master the very Words, adding, they were delivered in a haughty Strain. *Dempaino*, who was not used to have his Commands disputed, order'd one of his Generals to march with 6000 Men, and demand the White Man, and in Case of Refusal, to denounce War, that he should send him back an Express of it, and he would follow in Person with an Army to enforce a Compliance.

These Orders were put in Execution with the greatest Dispatch and Secrecy; so that the Town was invested, before any Advice was given of the Approach of an Enemy. The General told the King, it was in his Choice to have Peace or War with his Master, since it depended on the Delivery of the White Man.

The King thus surpriz'd, was obliged, however contrary to his Inclinations, to give *Williams* up to the General, who return'd with him to *Dempaino*, without committing any Hostilities; tho' he threatned to besiege the Town, and put all but the Women and Children to the Sword, if the King of *Maratan* did not pay the Expence of his Master's sending for the White Man, which he rated at 100 Slaves, and 500 Head of Cattle, the King objected to this as a hard Condition and an unjust Imposition, but was obliged to acquiesce in it.

One Thing, remarkable enough, had like to have slipp'd me; which is, the King of *Maratan* sent *Williams* to the General without any Attendance, which made him ask, if the White Man was a Slave? The King answered, he had not used him like one. I may very well, said the General, be of a contrary Opinion,

since you have sent no Body to wait upon him: Upon which Reprimand, the King sent *Williams* a Present of a Slave.

He was received by *Dempaino* with a great many Caresses, was handsomely cloathed according to the Country Manner, had Slaves allotted to wait on him, and every Thing that was necessary and convenient; so that King *Dempaino* was at the Trouble of sending 6000 Men, one would think, for no other End than to shew the great Value and Esteem he had for the *Europeans*. He continued with this Prince till the Arrival of a Ship, which was some Years after his leaving *Maratan*; when the *Bedford* Galley, a Pyrate, commanded by *Achen Jones*, a *Welshman*, came on the Coast, on board of which Ship *Williams* was permitted to enter; they went to *Augustine*, where, laying the Ship on Shore, by Carelessness they broke her Back, and lost her. The Crew lived here till the Arrival of the *Pelican*, another Pyrate, mentioned in *North's* Life; some of them went on board this Ship, and steer'd for the *East-Indies*. *Williams* shifted out of this on board the *Mocha* Frigate, a Pyrate, commanded by Captain *Culliford*, and made a Voyage; then, returning to St. *Mary's*, they shared the Booty they had got in the Red Seas. I shall not here mention the Particulars of this last Expedition, designing to write Captain *Culliford's* Life, which it more properly belongs to.

Some of the Crew, being *West Indians*, having an Opportunity, returned home; but *Williams* remain'd here till the Arrival and taking of Capt. *Forgette*, which has been already mentioned: He was one of those who took the *Speaker*, (the Manner has been told before, in another Life) went a Voyage in her, and returned to *Maratan*, as is said in *North's* Life. Here the King seeing him, ask'd what Present he intended to make him for former Kindness? *Williams* answered, he had been over paid by the Prince whom he took him from and by his Services, which Answer so irritated his *Maratanian* Majesty, that he ordered him to quit his Country; and he could hardly after that see him with Patience.

From hence he went on board the *Prosperous*, Captain *Howard*, Commander, who went to St. *Mary's*, and thence to the Main, as is said in that Pyrate's Life, and was one of the Men left behind when they had a Design to carry off *Ort Van Tyle*. This *Dutchman* kept him to hard Labour, as planting Potatoes, &c. in revenge for the Destruction and Havock made in his Plantations by the Crew of the *Prosperous*; he was here in the Condition of a Slave six Months, at the Expiration of which Time, he had an Opportunity (and embraced it) to run away, leaving his Consort, *Tho. Collins*, behind him, who had his Arm broke when he was taken by the *Dutchman*.

Having made his Escape from a rigid, revengeful Master, he got to a Black Prince, named *Rebaiharang*, with whom he lived half a Year; he from hence

went and kept Company with one *John Pro*, another *Dutchman*, who had a small Settlement on Shore, till the Arrival of the Men of War, commanded by Commodore *Richards*, who took both *Pro* and his Guest *Williams*, put them in Irons (on board the *Severn*) till they came to *Johanna*, where the Captain of the *Severn* undertook for 2000 Dollars to go against the *Mohilians*, in which Expedition several of the Man of War's Crew were killed, and the two Pyrates made their Escape in a small Canoe to *Mohila*, where they shelter'd themselves a while in the Woods, out of which they got Provisions, and made over for *Johanna*; here they recruited themselves and went away for *Mayotta*, an Island 18 Leagues in Length. The King of this Island built them a Boat, and giving them Provisions and what Necessaries they required, they made for and arrived at *Madagascar*; where, at *Methelage*, in the Lat. of 16, 40, or thereabouts, they join'd, as has been said, Captain *White*.

Here they lay about 3 Months, then setting Fire to their Boat, they went into *White's*, and rounding the North End came to *Ambonavoula*; here *Williams* staid till Captain *White* brought the Ship *Hopewell*, on board of which he entered before the Mast, made a Voyage to the Red Seas, towards the End of which he was chosen Quarter-Master. At their Return they touch'd at *Mascarenas* for Provisions, where almost half the Company went ashore and took up their Habitations.

From *Mascarenas* they steer'd for *Hopewell* (by some call'd *Hopefull*) Point, on *Madagascar*, where dividing their Plunder, they settled themselves.

Twelve Months after, the *Charles* Brigantine, Captain *Halsey*, came in, as is mentioned in his Life. *Williams* went on board him and made a Voyage; at their Return they came to *Maratan*, lived ashore, and assisted the King in his War against his Brother, which being ended in the Destruction of the latter, and a Pyrate lying at *Ambonavoula*, sending his Long-Boat to *Manangcaro*, within ten Leagues of *Maratan*, *Williams* and the rest went on board, and in three Months after he had been at *Ambonavoula* he was chosen Captain of the *Scotch* Ship, mentioned in *Halsey's* Life.

This Ship he work'd upon with great Earnestness, and made the *Scots* Prisoners labour hard at the fitting her up for a Voyage; and she was near ready for the Seas when a Hurricane forced her ashore, and she was wreck'd.

Some Time after this he set up and finished a Sloop, in which he and ten of his Men, design'd for *Mascarenas*, but missing the Island they went round *Madagascar*, to a Place called *Methelage*, where he laid his Vessel ashore and staid a Year; but the King being tired with his morose Temper, and he disagreeing with every Body, he was order'd to be gone, and accordingly fitting up his Vessel he put to Sea, intending to go round the North End of the Island;

but the Wind being at E. S. E. and the Current setting to N. W. he put back to a Port, called the *Boyne*, within 10 Leagues of *Methelage*, in the same King's Dominions whom he had left. The Governor of this Place was descended from the *Arabs*, and it was here that the *Arabians* traded.

When he came to an Anchor, he and three of his Men (he had but 5 with him) went on Shore, paddled by two Negroes. *David Eaton* and *William Dawson*, two of the Men, required a Guide, to shew them the Way to the King's Town; the Governor order'd them one, and, at the same time, laid an Ambush for them in the Road, and caused them to be murdered. When they had left the *Boyn*, *Williams* and *Meyeurs*, a *Frenchman*, who also came ashore in the Canoe, went to buy some *Samsams*, which are agate Beads; as they were looking over these Goods, a Number of the Governor's Men came about them, seiz'd them both, and immediately dispatch'd *Meyeurs*, *Williams* they bound, and tortur'd almost a whole Day, by throwing hot Ashes on his Head and in his Face, and putting little Boys to beat him with Sticks; he offer'd the Governor 2000 Dollars for his Life, but he answer'd, he'd have both that and the Money too; and accordingly when he was near expiring, they made an End of him with their Lances.

After this barbarous Murder, the Governor thought of seizing the Sloop, on board of which were no more than two White Men, six Negroe Boys, and some Women Slaves of the same Colour; however, he thought it best to proceed by Stratagem, and therefore putting a Goat and some Calabashes of Toke on board *William's* Canoe, with twelve Negroes arm'd, and the Sloop Negroes to paddle, he sent to surprize her. When the Canoe came pretty near the Vessel, they hal'd, and ask'd if they would let them come aboard? One of the Men ask'd *William's* Negroes where the Captain was? He answered, drinking Toke with the Governor, and sent them Provision and Toke. A Negroe Wench advised the White Man, whose Name was *William Noakes*, not to let them come on board, for as four White Men went ashore, and none of them appear'd, she suspected some Treachery; however, on the Answer made him from the Canoe, he resolved to admit them, and giving the Wench a Kick, cryed, *D—m ye, must we have no fresh Provisions for your Whimsies*; he called them on board, and no sooner were they on Deck but one of them snatching *Noakes* his Pistol, shot him thro' the Head, and seizing the other White Man, threw him over-board and drown'd him; after which, being Masters of the Vessel, they carried her in and rifled her.

The King was at this Time a hunting, as is his Custom to hunt Boars three Months in the Year; but the Account of these Murders soon reach'd him, however, he staid the accustom'd Time of his Diversion; but when he returned home, and the Whites, who were about him, demanded Justice, he bid them be quiet, they might depend upon his doing it: He sent to the Governor of *Boyn*, and

told him, he was glad that he had cut off *Williams* and his Crew, an Example he was resolved to follow and clear the Country of them all. That he had some Affairs to communicate to him, and desired he would come to Court as soon as possible, but take Care he was not seen by any of the Whites, for fear by his, they shou'd revenge the Death of their Companions.

The Governor on these Orders came away immediately, and stopp'd two Miles short, at a little Town two Miles distant from the King's, and sent Word he there waited for his Commands.

The King ordered him to be with him early next Morning, before the White Men were out of their Beds; he set forward accordingly the next Day betimes, but was seiz'd on the Road by Negroes placed for that Purpose, and brought bound to the King, who, after having reproach'd him with the Barbarity of his Action, sent him to the White Men, bidding them put him to what Death they pleased; but they sent Word back, he might dispose of his Subjects Lives as he thought fit, but for their Part they would never draw a Drop of Blood of any who belonged to him. Upon which Answer the King's Uncle ordered him to be speared, and he was accordingly thrust thro' the Body with Lances. The King, after this Execution, sent to *Boyn*, and had every Thing brought which had belonged to *Williams* and his Men, and divided it among the Whites, saying, *He was sorry the Villain had but one Life to make Attonement for the Barbarity he had been guilty of.*





OF
Capt. Samuel Burgess,
And his CREW.

Capt. *Samuel Burgess* was born in *New-York*, and had a good Education; he was what they call a well-set Man, and bandy legg'd; he sail'd some Time as a Privateer in the *West-Indies*, and very often, the Gang, he was with, when the Time of their cruizing was expir'd, would make no Ceremony of prolonging the Commission by their own Authority.

By his Privateering he got together some little Money, and returned home, where the Government having no Notice, or, at least, taking none, of his pyratrical Practice, in staying beyond the Date of his Commission: He went out Mate of a Ship, in the Service of *Frederick Phillips*, bound to the Island of *Madagascar*, to trade with the Pyrates, where they had the Misfortune to lose their Ship, and lived eighteen Months at *Augustine*, when an *English* Pyrate coming in, the King of the Country obliged him to go on board her, tho' much against his Inclination, for he was tired of a roving Life; but their Choice was to go or starve, for the King would keep them no longer.

He went with this free Booter to the *East Indies*, where they made several rich Prizes; returned to *St. Mary's*, where they took in Provisions, Wood, and Water. Several of their Gang knock'd off here; but the Captain, *Burgess*, and the Remainder, went away for the *West Indies*, disposed of their Plunder on the *Spanish* Coast, and then returning to *New York*, purposely knocked the Ship on the Head at *Sandy Hook*, after they had secur'd their Money ashore.

The Government not being inform'd of their Pyracy, they lived here without Molestation, and, in a short Time, *Burgess* married a Relation of Mr. *Phillips'*, who built a Ship, called the *Pembroke*, and sent him a second Time to *Madagascar*. In his Way to this Island, he went into the River of *Dilagou* on the *African* Coast, where he took in a Quantity of Elephants Teeth; and thence to *Augustine*, where he met with several of his old Ship Mates, with whom he traded for Money and Slaves. Leaving this Place he went to *Methelage*, where he

also took some Money and Negroes; and from thence he shaped his Course for *St. Mary's*, on the East Side, where he also drove a considerable Trade with his old Comrades, took several of them Passengers, who paid very generously for their Passage; and taking with him an Account of what was proper to bring in another Trip, he return'd to *New York*, without any sinister Accident: This Voyage clear'd 5,000 l. Ship and Charges paid.

His Owner encouraged by this Success, bid him chuse what Cargoe he pleas'd, and set out again; accordingly he laded with Wine, Beer, &c. and returning to *Madagascar* arrived at *Maratan* on the East Side, where he disposed of a great Part of his Cargoe at his own Rates. At *Methelage* he disposed of the rest, and return'd, clearing for himself and Owner 10,000 l. besides 300 Slaves he brought to *New York*.

After a short Stay at home, he set out again on the old Voyage, fell in first with *Methelage*, where he victualled and traded; from thence he went round the South End, touch'd and sold Part of his Cargoe at a large Profit, to his old Acquaintance. He made a trading Voyage round the Island, and at *St. Mary's* met another Ship belonging to his Owner, which had Order to follow his Directions; he stay'd at this Port till he had disposed of the Cargoe of both Ships; he then shaped his Course homewards, with about 20 Pyrates Passengers, who had accepted the Pardon brought by Commadore *Littleton*.

In his Way he touch'd at the *Cape of Good Hope*, for Wood, Water, and fresh Provision: While he was here, the *Loyal Cook*, an *East India* Man came in, who made Prize of *Burgess*, and carried him to the *East Indies*; he there would have delivered *Burgess's* Ship to the Governor of *Maderass*, but the Governor would have no Hand in the Affair, and told the Captain, he must answer to the *East-India* Company and *Burgess's* Owner for what he had done.

Most of the Pyrate's Passengers thought themselves clear'd by the Act of Grace; but some of them, not willing to trust to it, got off with what Gold they could, in a *Dutch* Boat; they who trusted to the Pardon were clapp'd in Goal, and died in their Irons. I cannot omit the Simplicity of one of them, who had, however, the Wit to get off: When he designed to go away, he look'd for his Comrade for the Key of his Chest, to take his Gold with him, which amounted to Seventeen hundred Pounds; but this Comrade being ashore, he would not break open Chest, for it was Pity, he said, to spoil a good new Lock, so left his Money for the Captain of the *East-India* Man.

The News of this Capture came to the Owner before the Ship return'd, and he sued the Company; but, at their Request, staid for the Arrival of the *Loyal Cook*, which brought *Burgess* Prisoner to *England* soon after. The Captain finding himself in an Error, and that what he had done could not be justified, absconded;

the Company made good the Ship and Cargo to the Owner. *Burgess* was set at Liberty, continued some Time in *London*, was impeach'd, and Piracy sworn against him by *Culliford* (mentioned in *Williams's* Life) who notwithstanding, he came home on the Act of Grace, was clapp'd into *Newgate*, tried and acquitted, tho' he was beggar'd.

Burgess's Owner stickled very hard for him, and expended great Sums of Money to save him; however, tho' he pleaded the Necessity of his going on board the Pyrate, (as his Life shews it) he was tried and condemn'd; but by the Intercession of the Bishops of *London* and *Canterbury*, was pardon'd by the Queen.

After this, he made a broken Voyage to the *South Sea*, Lieutenant to a Privateer, and returning to *London*, was out of Business a whole Year.

He then shipp'd himself Mate on board the *Hannah*, afterwards called the *Neptune*, and went to *Scotland* to take in her Cargo, the Owner being of that Nation; but before she got thither he the Owner broke, and the Ship was stopp'd, and lay 18 Months before she was dispos'd of: But being set to Sale, and six *Scotch* Gentlemen buying her, the old Officers were continued, and she proceeded on her first designed Voyage to *Madagascar*, in which the Captain and *Burgess* quarrelling, was the Loss of the Ship; for the latter, who was acquainted with the Pyrates, when they arrived at *Madagascar*, spirited them up to surprize her: The Manner how, being already set down in *Halsey's* Life, I need not repeat.

I shall only take Notice, that Captain *Miller* being decoy'd ashore, under Pretence of being shew'd some Trees, fit for Masting, *Halsey* invited him to a Surloin of Beef, and a Bowl of Arrack Punch; he accepted the Invitation, with about 20 of the Pyrates. One *Emmy*, who had been a Waterman on the *Thames*, did not come to Table, but sat by, muffled up in a great Coat, pretending he was attack'd by the Ague, tho' he had put it on to conceal his Pistols only. After Dinner, when *Halsey* went out, as for something to entertain his Guests, (*Miller* and his Supercargo,) *Emmy* clapp'd a Pistol to the Captain's Breast, and told him, he was his Prisoner; at the same Instant, two other Pyrates enter'd the Room, with each a Blunderbuss in his Hand, and told the Captain and his Supercargo, that no Harm should come to either, if they did not bring it upon themselves by an useless Resistance. While this past within Doors, the Wood being lined with Pyrates, all *Miller's* Men, whom he had brought ashore to fell Timber, were secur'd, but none hurt, and all civilly treated. When they had afterwards got Possession of the Ship, in the Manner mention'd before, they set all their Prisoners at Liberty.

Miller, with eleven of his Men, was sent off, as is said in *Halsey's* Life: The

Company chose *Burgess* Quarter-Master, and shar'd the Booty they had made out of the *Scotch Ship*, and the *Greyhound*.

Soon after happen'd *Halsey's* Death, who left *Burgess* Executor in Trust for his Widow and Children, with a considerable Legacy for himself, and the other Pyrates grumbling at a new Comer's being preferr'd to all of them, took from *Burgess* 3,000 l. of *Halsey's* Money, and 1200 l. of his own, which was his Share of the two Prizes. Tho' he had been treated in this Manner, they were idle enough to give him the Command of the *Scots Ship*, and order'd him to fit her out with all Expedition, and to take on board some Men and Goods left in the Brigantine: He set to work on the Ship, with full Design to run away with her; but some Pyrates, who were in another Part of the Island, being informed of these Proceedings, thought it not prudent to trust him, so he left the Ship, and getting among his old Comrades, by their Interposition, had all his Money return'd.

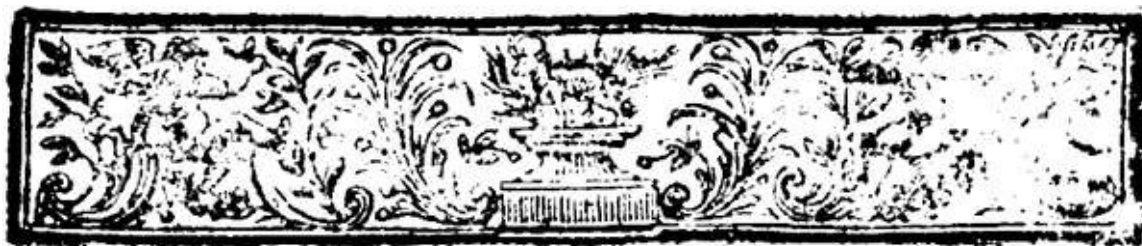
After this he lived five Months on the Island of *St. Mary's*, where his House was, by Accident, burnt down, out of which he saved nothing but his Money; he then went on board *David Williams*, when he miss'd the Island of *Mascarenas*, and returned to *Methelage*, where he staid with the King, and was one of the Men among whom he divided *William's* Effects.

From *Methelage* he went with a Parcel of Samsams to *Augustine*, with which he bought fifty Slaves, whom he sold to the *Arabians*. In his Return to *Methelage*, he met Captain *North* in a Sloop, with thirty of *Miller's* Men on board; these Men propos'd the taking *Burgess*, who had, they said, betrayed, ruined, and banished them their Country, by forcing them to turn Pyrates; but *North* would not consent: Upon which, they confined him, took *North* and stripp'd him of all the Money, and then releasing their Captain, gave him 300 l. as his Share, which he returned to *Burgess* on his Arrival at *Methelage*.

Burgess lived here two or three Years, till he was carried off by some *Dutchmen*; they belonged to an *East-India Man*, and were taken by two *French Ships*, which being bound for *Mocha*, and scarce of Provisions, came into *Methelage* to victual, where they set 80 of their Prisoners ashore. When they parted from this Port they sail'd for *Johanna*, where they left the *Dutch Officers*, who built a Ship, and came back for their Men. *Burgess* being of great Use to them, they took him on board, and steer'd for a Port, where some *Dutch*, taken in another Ship, were maroon'd; but they were wreck'd at *Youngoul*, where *Burgess* continued eighteen Months. After this Time was expir'd, he was desirous of leaving the Place, and addressing himself to the King, who was Uncle to the King of *Methelage*, he requested his black Majesty to send him back to that Port, which he readily complied with, where *Burgess* continued

almost five Years, afflicted with Sickness, in which he lost one Eye. While he was here, the *Drake* Pink, of *London*, came in for Slaves, he took *Burgess*, with Design to carry him home; but Captain *Harvey* in the *Henry*, which belong'd to the same Owners, arriving, and being a Stranger to the Trade, at the Request of Captain *Maggot*, Commander of the *Drake*, and on Promise of a Ship when in the *West Indies*, he enter'd as third Mate, and continued with him. Captain *Harvey* carrying it pretty high, and disagreeing with the King, lay here 9 Months before he could slave. *Burgess* was sent up to tell the King he had not fulfill'd his Agreement with Captain *Harvey*; the King resented the being reproach'd by a Man whom he had entertained so many Years, and reviled him; he was, however, carried to Dinner with some of the principal Blacks, and drank very plentifully with them of Honey Toke, in which it is supposed he was poison'd, for he fell ill and died soon after, leaving what he had to the Care of the chief Mate, for the Use of his Wife and Children.





APPENDIX TO THE First VOLUME.



e have already touched upon the History of some of the Pyrates, which we shall have Occasion to name here over again; but since the printing our first Volume, the following Relations are fallen into our Hands, which being much more curious and particular than any Thing hitherto made publick upon these Affairs, we are satisfied our Readers will find their Entertainment in the Perusal of it.

About the 20th of *July* 1718, Mr. *Woods Rogers*, Governor and Vice-Admiral of the *Bahama* Islands, being sent from *England* with the King's Proclamation, and Pardon for all Pyrates who had surrendered by a Time specified in the said Proclamation, arrived at *Providence*. It was Evening when the Fleet came off the Town of *Nassau* in the said Island, when *Richard Turnley*, the Pilot, who was on board the *Delicia*, did not judge it safe to venture over the Bar that Night, wherefore it was resolved to lie bye till Morning.

In the mean Time there came some Men on board the Fleet from off a little Island, called *Harbour Island*, adjacent to *Providence*. The Advice they brought was, that there were near a thousand Pyrates on Shore upon the Island of *Providence*, waiting for the King's Pardon, which had been long expected. The

principal of their Commanders were *Benj. Horneygold*, *Arthur Davis*, *Jos. Burgess*, *Tho. Carter*, and they were all in or about the Town of *Nassau*; that the Fort was extremely out of Repair, there being only one Gun mounted, a nine Pounder, and no Accommodation for Men, but one little Hut or House, which was inhabited by an old Fellow, whom the Pyrates, in Derision, called Governor *Sawney*.

The Fleet was seen from the Harbour, as well as the Town, so that Captain *Charles Vane*, who had no Design of surrendring; but, on the contrary, had fitted out his Ship with a Resolution of attempting new Adventures, took the Advantage of the Night to contrive his Escape; and though the Harbour was blocked up, and his Ship drew too much Water to get out by t'other East Passage, he shifted his Hands, and Things of most Value, into a lighter Vessel, and charging all the Guns of the Ship he quitted with Double-Round and Partridge, he set it on Fire, imagining, that some of the Ships, or their Boats, might be sent near him, and he might do some Mischief when it should burn down to them.

Those in the Fleet saw the Light, and heard the Guns, and fancied the Pyrates on Shore were making Bonfires, and firing Guns for Joy that the King's free Pardon was arrived; and Captain *Whitney*, Commander of the *Rose Man of War*, sent his Boat with his Lieutenant on Shore, which was intercepted by *Vane*, who carried the Crew on Board, and stripped them of some Stores they had in the Boat, he kept them till he got under Sail, which was till Day-break, when there was Light enough for him to see how to steer his Way through the East Passage; which was no sooner done but he hoisted a black Flag, and fired a Gun, and then let the Lieutenant and Boat's Crew depart and join the Fleet.

The Fleet got safe into the Harbour, and as soon as the Lieutenant arrived on Board, and related what had passed, the *Buck Sloop* was ordered to chace *Vane*; she made what Sail she could through the East Passage after him, having a Recruit of Men well armed sent to her from the other Ships; but being heavily laden with rich Goods, *Vane* had the Heels of her, which the Commadore observing, made a Signal for her to leave off the Chace, and return, which she did accordingly.

They immediately fell to mooring and securing their Ships, which took up the Time till Night: Next Morning the Governor went on Shore, being received at his Landing by the principal People in the Government of the Place, as *Thomas Walker*, Esq; Chief Justice, and *Thomas Taylor*, Esq; President of the Council; the Pyrate Captains, *Hornygold*, *Davis*, *Carter*, *Burghess*, *Currant*, *Clark*, with some others, drew up their Crews in two Lines, reaching from the Water-Side to the Fort, the Governor and other Officers marching between them; in the mean

Time, they being under Arms, made a running Fire over his Head.

Being arrived at the Fort, his Commission was opened and read, and he was sworn in Governor of the Island, according to Form.

The next Day the Governor made out a Commission to *Richard Turnley*, the chief Pilot, to Mr. *Salter*, a Factor, and some others, to go on Board and examine all suspected Ships and Vessels in the Harbour, to take an Inventory of their several Ladings, and to secure both Ship and Cargo for the Use of the King and Company, till such Time as a Court of Admiralty could be called, that they might be lawfully cleared or condemned by proving which belonged to Pyrates, and which to fair Traders.

The Day following a Court-Martial was held, in which a military Discipline was settled, in order to prevent Surprizes, both from *Spaniards* and Pyrates, till such Time as the Fort could be repaired, and put into a Condition of Defence; for this Purpose the Governor was obliged to make Use of some of the pardoned Pyrates, such as *Hornygold*, *Davis* and *Burghess*, to whom he gave some Commands; and *George Fetherston*, *James Bonney*, and *Dennis Macartey*, with some other Pyrates of a lower Rank, acted under them as inferior Officers.

Soon after the civil Government was also settled, some of the principal Officers being appointed Justices of the Peace, others of inferior Degree, Constables and Overseers of the Ways and Roads, which were overgrown with Bushes and Underwood, all about the Town of *Nassau*; so that if any Enemy had landed in the Night, they might lie in Ambuscade in those Covers, and surprize the Town; wherefore several of the common Pyrates were employed in clearing away the said Bushes and Underwood.

The Governor, with some Soldiers, guarded the Fort, and the Inhabitants, who were form'd into Train'd-Bands, took Care of the Town; but as there was no Sort of Accommodation to lodge such a Number of People, they were forced to unbend the Sails, and bring them on Shore, in order to make Tents, till they had Time to build Houses, which was done with all possible Expedition, by a Kind of Architecture altogether new.

Those that were built in the Fort were done by making six little Holes in the Rock, at convenient Distances, in each of which was stuck a forked Pole; on these, from one to t'other, were placed cross Poles or Rafters, which being lathed at Top, and on the Sides, with small Sticks, were afterwards covered with *Palmata* Leaves, and then the House was finished; for they did not much trouble themselves about the Ornaments of Doors and Windows.

In the mean Time the repairing the Fort was carried on, and the Streets were ordered to be kept clean, both for Health and Conveniency, so that it began to have the Appearance of a civilized Place.

A Proclamation was published for the Encouragement of all such Persons should be willing to settle upon the Island of *Providence*, by which every Person was to have a Lot of Ground of a hundred and twenty Foot square, any where in or about the Town of *Nassau*, that was not before in the Possession of others, provided they should clear the said Ground, and build a House tenantable, by a certain Time therein limited, which might be easily done as they might have Timber for nothing. This had the Effect proposed, and a great many immediately fell to work to comply with the Conditions, in order to settle themselves there.

Many of the Pyrates were employed in the Woods in cutting down Sticks to make Pallisadoes; and all the People belonging to the Ships (Officers excepted) were obliged to work four Days in the Week upon the Fortifications, so that in a short Time a strong Entrenchment was cast round the Fort, and being well pallisadoed, it rendered the Fort tolerably strong.

But it did not much suit the Inclinations of the Pyrates to be set to work; and though they had Provision sufficient, and had also a good Allowance of Wine and Brandy to each Man, yet they began to have such a hankering after their old Trade, that many of them took Opportunities of seizing Perriaguas, and other Boats, in the Night, and making their Escapes, so that in a few Months there was not many of them left.

However, when the *Spanish* War was proclaim'd, several of them return'd back again of their own Accords, being tempted with the Hopes of being employed upon the privateering Account, (which is something like pyrating;) for that Place lying near the Coast of *Spanish America*, and also not far from the Gulph of *Florida*, seemed to be a good Station for intercepting the *Spanish* Vessels going to old *Spain*.

They were not mistaken in this Supposition, for the Governor, according to the Power vested in him, did grant Commissions for privateering, and made Choice of some of the principal Pyrates who had continued upon the Island, in Obedience to the Pardon, for Commanders, as being Persons well qualified for such Employments, who made up their Crews chiefly of their scattered Companions, who were newly returned upon the Hopes of Preferment.

About this Time a Fishing Vessel belonging to the Island of *Providence* brought in the Master of a Ship and a few Sailors, whom she had picked up at Sea in a Canoe; the said Master was called Captain *King*, who sailed in a Ship called the *Neptune*, belonging to *South-Carolina*, loaden with Rice, Pitch, Tar, and other Merchandizes, bound for *London*.

The Account he gave of himself was, that he was met with by *Charles Vane* the Pyrate, who carried him into *Green Turtle* Bay, one of the *Bahama* Islands, by whom he was plundered of a great Part of his Cargoe, which consisting

chiefly of Stores, was of great Use to them; that afterwards they cut away Part of one of the Masts of the Ship, and fired a Gun down her Hold, with Design of sinking her; that they took some of his Men into their Service, and when they were sailing off gave him and the rest a Canoe to save themselves; that with this Canoe they made shift to sail from one little Island to another, till they had the good Luck to meet the Fishing Boat which took them up; and that he believed *Charles Vane* might still be cruising thereabouts.

Upon this Intelligence the Governor fitted out a Ship which was named the *Willing Mind*, mann'd with fifty stout Hands, well armed, and also a Sloop with thirty Hands, which he sent to cruise amongst those Islands, in search of *Vane* the Pyrate, giving them Orders also to endeavour to recover the Ship *Neptune*, which Captain *King* told them had still Goods of a considerable Value left in her.

They went out accordingly, but never saw *Vane*; however, they found the *Neptune*, which was not sunk as the Pyrates intended; for the Ball they fired into her stuck in the Ballast, without passing through, by Reason the Gun had not been sufficiently charged, and so they returned with her about the 10th of *November*; but an unlucky Accident happened to the Ship *Willing Mind*, occasioned either by the ignorance or Carelessness of the Pilot, which was bulged in going over the Bar.

In the mean Time *Vane* made towards the Coast of *Hispaniola*, living riotously on Board, having store of Liquor, and plenty of fresh Provisions, such as Hogs, Goats, Sheep, Fowl, which he got upon easy Terms, for touching at a Place called *Isleatherer*, he plundered the Inhabitants of as much of their Provision as they could carry away: Here they cruised to about *February*, when, near the Windward Passage of *Cape Mase*, they met with a large rich Ship of *London*, called the *Kingston*, loaden with Bale Goods, and other rich Merchandize, and having several Passengers on Board, some *English*, and some *Jews*, besides two Women.

Towards the North-End of *Jamaica* they also met with a Turtle Sloop, bound in for that Island, on Board of which (after having first plundered her) they put the Captain of the *Kingston*, and some of his Men, and all the Passengers, except the two Women, whom they kept for their own Entertainment, contrary to the usual Practice of Pyrates, who generally sent them away, least they should occasion Contention.

The Ship *Kingston* they kept for their own Use; for now their Company being strengthened by a great many Recruits, some Voluntiers, and some forced Men out of the *Neptune* and *Kingston*, they thought they had Hands enough for two Ships; accordingly they shifted several of their Hands on Board the *Kingston*, and *John Rackham*, alias *Callico Jack*, (so called, because his Jackets and

Drawers were always made of Callico) Quarter-Master to *Vane*, was unanimously chosen Captain of the *Kingston*.

The Empire of these Pyrates had not been long thus divided before they had like to have fallen into a civil War amongst themselves, which must have ended in the Destruction of one of them. The fatal Occasion of the Difference betwixt these two Brother Adventurers, was this;—It happened that *Vane*'s Liquor was all out, who sending to his Brother Captain for a Supply, *Rackham* accordingly spared him what he thought fit; but it falling short of *Vane*'s Expectation, as to Quantity, he went on Board of *Rackham*'s Ship to expostulate the Matter with him, so that Words arising, *Rackham* threaten'd to shoot him thro' the Head, if he did not immediately return to his own Ship; and told him likewise, that if he did not sheer off, and part Company, he would sink him.

Vane thought it best to take his Advice, for he thought the other was bold enough to be as good as his Word, for he had it in his Power to be so, his Ship being the largest and strongest of the two.

Accordingly they parted, and *Rackham* made for the Island of *Princes*, and having great Quantities of rich Goods on Board, taken in the late Prizes, they were divided into Lots, and he and his Crew shared them by throwing Dice, the highest Cast being to choose first: When they had done, they packed up their Goods in Casks, and buried them on Shore in the Island of *Princes*, that they might have Room for fresh Booty. In the mean Time it happened that a Turtle Sloop belonging to *Jamaica* came in there, *Rackham* sent his Boat, and brought the Master on Board of him, and asking him several Questions, the Master informed him, that War with *Spain* had been proclaimed in *Jamaica*; and that the Time appointed by the general Pardon for Pyrates to surrender, in order to receive the Benefit thereof, was not expired.

Upon this Intelligence *Rackham* and his Crew suddenly changed their Minds, and were resolved to take the Benefit of the Pardon by a speedy Surrender; wherefore, instead of using the Master ill, as the poor Man expected, they made him several Presents, desiring him to sail back to *Jamaica*, and acquaint the Governor they were willing to surrender, provided he would give his Word and Honour they should have the Benefit of the Pardon; which, as extensive as it was, they apprehended they were not intitled to, because they had run away in Defiance of it at *Providence*. They desired the Master also to return with the Governor's Answer, assuring him he should be no Loser by the Voyage.

The Master very willingly undertook the Commission, and arriving at *Jamaica*, delivered his Message to the Governor, according to his Instructions; but it happened that the Master of the *Kingston*, with his Passengers, being come to *Jamaica*, had acquainted the Governor with the Pyracies of *Vane* and *Rackam*,

before the Turtler got thither, who was actually fitting out two Sloops, which were now just ready, in pursuit of them, so that the Governor was very glad to discover, by the Turtler's Message, where *Rackam* was to be found.

The two Sloops, well mann'd, accordingly sailed out, and found *Rackam* in the Station where the Turtler had described him, but altogether in Disorder, and quite unprepared, either for Sailing or for Fight, most of his Sails being on Shore erected into Tents, and his Decks lumber'd with Goods; he happen'd to be on Board himself, tho' most of his Men were ashore, and seeing the two Sloops at a Distance, bearing towards him, he observed them with his Glass, and fancied he saw on Board something like Preparations for fighting. This was what he did not expect, for he look'd for no Enemy, and while he was in Doubt and Suspence about them, they came so near that they began to fire.

He had neither Time nor Means to prepare for Defence, so that there was nothing to be done but to run into his Boat, and escape to the Shore, which he did accordingly with the few Hands he had with him, leaving the two Women on Board to be taken by the Enemy.

The Sloops seized the Ship *Kingston*, mann'd her, and brought her into *Jamaica*, having still a great part of her Cargoe left; when she arrived, the Master of her fell to examining what part of the Cargoe was lost, and what left; he searched also for his Bills of Lading and Cockets, but they were all destroyed by *Rackam*; so that the Ship being freighted by several Owners, the Master could not tell whose Property was saved, and whose lost, till he had fresh Bills of Parcels of each Owner from *England*. There was one remarkable Piece of good Luck which happened in this Affair; there were, amongst other Goods, sixty Gold Watches on Board, and thirty of Silver; the Pyrates divided the Silver Watches, but the Gold being packed up amongst some Bale Goods, were never discovered by them, and the Master, in searching, found them all safe.

In the mean Time *Rackam* and his Crew lived in the Woods, in very great Suspence what to do with themselves; they had with them Ammunition and small Arms, and also some of the Goods, such as Bales of Silk Stockings, and laced Hats, with which, it is supposed, they intended to make themselves fine; they had also two Boats and a Canoe.

Being divided in their Resolutions, *Rackam* with six more determined to take one of the Boats, and make the best of their Way for the Island of *Providence*, and there claim the Benefit of the King's Pardon, which they fancied they might be intitled to, by representing, that they were carried away by *Vane*, against their Wills. Accordingly they put some Arms, Ammunition and Provision, into the best Boat, and also some of the Goods, and so set Sail. They first made the Island of *Pines*, from thence got over to the North-Side of *Cuba*, where they

destroyed several *Spanish* Boats and Launces; one they took, which being a stout Sea Boat, they shifted themselves and their Cargoe into her, and sunk their own, and then stretched over to the Island of *Providence*, where they landed safely about the Middle of *May* 1719, where demanding the King's Pardon, the Governor thought fit to allow it them, and Certificates were granted to them accordingly.

Here they sold their Goods, and spent the Money merrily; when all was gone, some ingaged themselves in Privateers, and others in trading Vessels.

But *Rackam*, as Captain, having a much larger Share than any of the rest, his Money held out a little longer; but happening about this Time to come acquainted with *Anne Bonny*, that made him very extravagant. *Anne Bonny*, as has been taken Notice of in the first Volume, was married to *James Bonny*, one of the pardoned Pyrates, a likely young Fellow, and of a sober Life, considering he had been a Pirate; but *Anne*, who was very young, soon turned a Libertine upon his Hands, so that he once surpriz'd her lying in a Hammock with another Man. *Rackam* made his Addresses to her till his Money was all spent; but as he found there was no carrying on an Amour with empty Pockets, he ingaged himself with Captain *Burghess*, lately a Pirate, but pardoned, who had received a Commission to privateer upon the *Spaniards*. This Cruize proved successful; they took several Prizes, amongst the rest, two of considerable Value, one loaded with Cocoa Nut, and another with Sugar. They brought them into *Providence*, and found Purchasers amongst the Factors, who came from other Places for that Purpose. The Dividend was considerable, and as soon as possible disposed of: *Burghess* sailed out in Quest of new Purchase; but *Rackam*, who had nothing but *Anne Bonny* in his Head, staid behind to spend his Money, and enjoy his Mistress.

Rackam lived in all Manner of Luxury, spending his Money liberally upon *Anne Bonny*, who was so taken with his Generosity, that she had the Assurance to propose to her Husband to quit him, in order to cohabit with *John Rackam*; and that *Rackam* should give him a Sum of Money, in Consideration he should resign her to the said *Rackam* by a Writing in Form, and she even spoke to some Persons to witness the said Writing.

The Story made some Noise, so that the Governor hearing of it, sent for her and one *Anne Fulworth*, who came with her from *Carolina*, and pass'd for her Mother, and was privy to all her loose Behaviour, and examining them both upon it, and finding they could not deny it, he threaten'd if they proceeded further in it, to commit them both to Prison, and order them to be whipp'd, and that *Rackam*, himself, should be their Executioner.

These Menaces made her promise to be very good, to live with her Husband,

and to keep loose Company no more; but all this was Dissimulation, for *Rackam* and she consulting together, and finding they could not by fair Means enjoy each other's Company with Freedom, resolved to run away together, and enjoy it in Spight of all the World.

To this Purpose they plotted together to seize a Sloop which then lay in the Harbour, and *Rackam* drew some brisk young Fellows into the Conspiracy; they were of the Number of the Pyrates lately pardoned, and who, he knew, were weary of working on Shore, and long'd to be again at their old Trade.

The Sloop they made choice of was betwixt thirty and forty Tun, and one of the swiftest Sailors that ever was built of that Kind; she belong'd to one *John Haman*, who lived upon a little Island not far from *Providence*, which was inhabited by no humane Creature except himself and his Family, (for he had a Wife and Children) his Livelihood and constant Employment was to plunder and pillage the *Spaniards*, whose Sloops and Launces he had often surprized about *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, and sometimes brought off a considerable Booty, always escaping by a good Pair of Heels, insomuch that it become a Bye-Word to say, *There goes John Haman, catch him if you can*. His Business to *Providence* now was to bring his Family there, in order to live and settle, being weary, perhaps, of living in that Solitude, or else apprehensive if any of the *Spaniards* should discover his Habitation, they might land, and be revenged of him for all his Pranks.

Anne Bonny was observed to go several times on Board this Sloop; she pretended to have some Business with *John Haman*, therefore she always went when he was on Shore, for her true Errand was to discover how many Hands were aboard, and what kind of Watch they kept, and to know the Passages and Ways of the Vessel.

She discovered as much as was necessary; she found there were but two Hands on Board; that *John Haman* lay on Shore every Night: She inquired of them, Whether they watch'd? Where they lay? And ask'd many other Questions; to all which they readily answered her, as thinking she had no Design but common Curiosity.

She acquainted *Rackam* with every Particular, who resolved to lose no Time, and therefore, acquainting his Associates, who were eight in Number, they appointed an Hour for meeting at Night, which was at twelve o'Clock. They were all true to the Roguery, and *Anne Bonny* was as punctual as the most resolute, and being all well armed, they took a Boat and rowed to the Sloop, which was very near the Shore.

The Night seemed to favour the Attempt, for it was both dark and rainy. As soon as they got on Board, *Anne Bonny*, having a drawn Sword in one Hand and

a Pistol in the other, attended by one of the Men, went strait to the Cabin where the two Fellows lay who belonged to the Sloop; the Noise waked them, which she observing, swore, that if they pretended to resist, or make a Noise, she would blow out their Brains, (that was the Term she used.)

In the mean Time *Rackam* and the rest were busy heaving in the Cables, one of which they soon got up, and, for Expedition sake, they slipped the other, and so drove down the Harbour: They passed pretty near the Fort, which hailed them, as did also the Guardship, asking them where they were going; they answered, their Cable had parted, and that they had nothing but a Grappling on Board, which would not hold them. Immediately after which they put out a small Sail, just to give them steerage Way. When they came to the Harbour's Mouth, and thought they could not be seen by any of the Ships, because of the Darkness of the Night, they hoisted all the Sail they had, and stood to Sea; then calling up the two Men, they asked them if they would be of their Party; but finding them not inclined, they gave them a Boat to row themselves ashore, ordering them to give their Service to *Haman*, and to tell him, they would send him his Sloop again when they had done with it.

Rackam and *Anne Bonny*, both bore a great Spleen to one *Richard Turnley*, whom *Anne* had ask'd to be a Witness to the Writing, which *James Bonny*, her Husband, was to give to *Rackam*, by which she was to be resigned to him; *Turnley* refused his Hand upon that Occasion, and was the Person who acquainted the Governor with the Story, for which they vowed Revenge against him. He was gone from *Providence* a turtling before they made their Escape, and they knowing what Island he was upon, made to the Place. They saw the Sloop about a League from the Shore a fishing, and went aboard with six Hands; but *Turnley*, with his Boy, by good Luck, happened to be ashore salting some wild Hogs they killed the Day before; they inquired for him, and hearing where he was, rowed ashore in Search of him.

Turnley from the Land saw the Sloop boarded, and observed the Men afterwards making for the Shore, and being apprehensive of Pyrates, which are very common in those Parts, he, with his Boy, fled into a neighbouring Wood. The Surf was very great, so that they could not bring the Boat to Shore; they waded up to the Arm-Pits, and *Turnley*, peeping through the Trees, saw them bring Arms on Shore: Upon the whole, not liking their Appearance, he, with his Boy, lay snug in the Bushes.

When they had looked about and could not see him, they hollow'd, and call'd him by his Name; but he not appearing, they thought it Time lost to look for him in such a Wilderness, and therefore they returned to their Boat, but rowed again back to the Sloop, and took away the Sails, and several other Things. They also

carried away with them three of the Hands, viz. *Richard Connor* the Mate, *John Davis*, and *John Howel*, but rejected *David Soward* the fourth Hand, tho' he had been an old experienced Pyrate, because he was lame, and disabled by a Wound he had formerly received.

When they had done thus much, they cut down the Main-Mast, and towing the Vessel into deep Water, sunk her, having first put *David Soward* into a Boat to shift for himself; he made Shift to get ashore, and after some Time, having found out *Turnley*, he told him, that *Rackam* and *Mary Stead* were determined, if they could have found him, to have whipp'd him to Death, as he heard them vow with many bitter Oaths and Imprecations; for whipping was the Punishment the Governor had threatened her with by his Information.

From thence they stretch'd over to the *Bury Islands*, plundering all the Sloops they met, and strengthening their Company with several additional Hands, and so went on till they were taken and executed at *Port Royal*, as has been told in the first Volume.

About this Time, the Governor, in Conjunction with some Factors then residing at *Providence*, thought fit to freight some Vessels for a trading Voyage; accordingly the *Batchelor's Adventure*, a Schooner, Captain *Henry White*, Commander; the *Lancaster Sloop*, Captain *William Greenway*, Commander; the *May Sloop*, Captain *John Augur*, Commander, of which last *David Soward* was Owner, (it having been given him by some Pyrates his former Associates) in which he also sail'd this Voyage, were fitted out with a Cargo of Goods and Merchandizes, bound for *Port Prince* on the Island of *Cuba*.

The Governor thought it adviseable, for the Benefit of the Inhabitants of *Providence*, to settle a Correspondence with some Merchants at *Port Prince*, first, in order to procure fresh Provisions, there being scarce any upon the Island at the Governor's first Arrival; and there being at *Port Prince* great Plenty of Cows and Hogs, he proposed to get a sufficient Number of each, to stock the Island for Breed, that the People for the future might have fresh Provision of their own.

They set Sail on *Sunday* the fifth of *October*, 1718; the next Day they arrived at an Island known by the Name of *Green Key*, lying South, South-East from *Providence*, in the Degree of 23 and 40 North Latitude, being distance about twenty five Leagues; they cast Anchor, in order to wait for Morning to carry them thro' some Rocks and Shoals which lay in their Way, and some went ashore to try to kill something for Supper, before it should be dark; they expected to meet some wild Hogs, for, some Time before, one *Joseph Bay* and one *Sims*, put two Sows and a Boar into the said Island; for they living at that Time at *Providence*, and being continually visited by Pyrates, were always

plundered of all their fresh Provisions; wherefore, they thought of settling a Breed upon *Green Key*, that they might have Recourse to in Time of Necessity.

This Island is about nine Miles in Circumference, and about three Miles broad in the widest Place; it is overgrown with wild Cabbage and Palmeta Trees, and great Variety of other Herbs and Fruits, so that there is Plenty of Food for the Nourishment of such Animals; but the Trees lying so close together, makes it but bad Hunting, so that they kill'd but one Hog, which, however was of a monstrous Size.

The Hunters returned on Board their Ships again before Seven, having first divided the Hog, and sent part on Board each Vessel for Supper that Night. After Supper, Captain *Greenway* and Captain *White* came on Board of Captain *Augur's* Sloop, in order to consult together, what Time to sail, and being all of Opinion, that if they weigh'd Anchor betwixt the Hours of ten and eleven, it would be Day before they would come up with the Shoals; they agreed upon that Hour for setting Sail, and so return'd to their own Vessels.

Soon after, *Phineas Bunch*, and *Dennis Macarty*, with a great many others, came from *White's* Sloop on Board of *Augur's*; their Pretence was, that they came to see *Richard Turnley* and Mr. *James Carr*, who had formerly been a Midshipman in the *Rose* Man of War under Captain *Whitney*, and being a great Favourite of Governor *Rogers*, he had appointed him Supercargo this Voyage. They desired to be treated with a Bottle of Beer, for they knew Mr. *Car* had some that was very good in his Care, which had been put on Board, in order to make Presents of, and to treat the *Spanish* Merchants with.

As it was not suspected they had any Thing else in View, Mr. *Carr* readily went down, and brought up a Couple of Bottles of Beer: They sat upon the Poop with Captain *Augur* in their Company, and were drinking their Beer; before the second Bottle was out, *Bunch* and *Macarty* began to rattle, and talk with great Pleasure, and much boasting of their former Exploits when they had been Pyrates, crying up a Pyrate's Life to be the only Life for a Man of any Spirit. While they were running on in this Manner, *Bunch* on a sudden started up, and swore damn him, he would be Captain of that Vessel; *Augur* answered him the Vessel did not want a Captain, for he was able to command her himself, which seem'd to put an End to the Discourse for that Time.

Soon after, *Bunch* began to tell what bright Arms they had on Board their Sloop; upon which, one of *Augur's* Men handed up some of their Cutlashes which had been clean'd that Day; among them was Mr. *Carr's* Silver-hilted Sword; *Bunch* seem'd to admire the Sword, and ask'd whose it was; Mr. *Carr* made Answer it belong'd to him; *Bunch* replied it was a very handsome one, and drawing it out, march'd about the Poop, flourishing it over his Head, and telling

Mr. *Carr* he would return it to him as soon as he had done with it: At the same Time he began to vapour again, and to brag of his former Pyracies, and coming near Mr. *Carr*, struck him with the Sword; *Turnley* bid him take Care of what he did, for that Mr. *Carr* would not take such Usage.

As they were disputing upon this Matter, *Dennis Macarty* stole off, and with some of his Associates seiz'd upon the great Cabin where all the Arms lay: At the same Time several of the Men, began to sing a Song, with these Words, *Did not you promise me, that you would marry me* (which it seems was the Signal agreed upon among the Conspirators for seizing the Ship) *Bunch* no sooner heard them, but he cried out aloud by G—d that will I, for I am Parson, and struck Mr. *Carr* again several Blows with his own Sword; Mr. *Carr* and *Turnley* both seiz'd him, and they began to struggle, when *Dennis Macarty*, with several others, return'd from the Cabin with each a Cutlash in one Hand, and a loaded Pistol in the other, and running up to them said, *What do the Governor's Dogs offer to resist?* And beating *Turnley* and *Carr* with their Cutlashes, threaten'd to shoot them: At the same Time firing their Pistols close to their Cheeks, upon which *Turnley* and *Carr* begg'd their Lives.

When they were thus in Possession of the Vessel, they haled Captain *Greenway*, and desired him to come on Board about earnest Business: He, knowing nothing of what had pass'd, takes his Boat, and only with two Hands rows on Board of them; as soon as he was come, *Dennis Macarty* leads him into the Cabin, and, as soon as he was there, lays hold of him, telling him he was now a Prisoner, and must submit: He offered to make some Resistance; upon which, they told him all Resistance would be vain, for his own Men were in the Plot; and, indeed, he saw the two Hands which row'd him aboard now armed, and joining with the Conspirators; wherefore he thought it was Time to submit.

As soon as this was done, they sent some Hands on Board to seize his Sloop, or rather to acquaint his Men with what had been done, for they expected to meet with no Resistance, many of them being in the Plot, and the rest, they supposed, not very averse to it: After which, they decoy'd Captain *White* on Board, by the same Stratagem they used to *Greenway*, and likewise sent on Board his Sloop, and found his Men, one and all, well disposed for the Design; and what was most remarkable was, that Captain *Augur* seeing how Things were going, joined with them, shewing himself as well inclined for pyrating as the worst of them.

Thus they made themselves Masters of the three Vessels with very little Trouble. The next Thing to be done was to resolve how to dispose of those who were not of their Party; some were for killing *John Turnley*, but the Majority carried it for marrooning, that he might be starved, and die like a Dog, as they called it; their great Spleen to him was, because he was the Person who had

piloted the Governor into *Providence*.

Accordingly *Turnley*, with *John Carr*, *Thomas Rich*, and some others, were stripp'd naked, and tumbled over the Vessel's Side into a Boat which lay alongside; the Oars were all taken out, and they left them nothing to work themselves ashore with but an old Paddle, which, at other Times serv'd to steer the Boat, and so they commanded them to be gone.—However, they made shift to get safe ashore to the Island, which, as we observed before, was quite uninhabited.

The next Morning *Dennis Macarty*, with several others, went on Shore, and told them they must come on Board again, and they would give them some Clothes to put on. They fancied the Pyrates began to repent of the hard Usage they had given them, and were willing to return upon such an Errand; but when they got on Board again, they found their Opinion of the Pyrates good Nature was very ill grounded, for they began with beating them, and did it as if it were in Sport, one having a Boatswain's Pipe, the rest beating them till he piped *Belay*.

The true Design of bringing them on Board again was to make them discover where some Things lay, which they could not readily find, as particularly Mr. *Carr*'s Watch and Silver Snuff-Box; but he was soon obliged to inform them in what Corner of the Cabin they lay, and there they were found, with some Journals and other Books, which they knew how to make no other Use of, but by turning into Cartridges.—Then they began to question *Thomas Rich* about a Gold Watch which had once been seen in his Possession on Shore at *Providence*; but he protested that it belonged to Captain *Gale*, who was Commander of the Guard-Ship called the *Delicia*, to which he then belonged; but his Protestations would have availed him little, had it not been that some on Board who belonged also to the *Delicia* knew it to be true, which put an End to his Beating; and so they were all discharged from their Punishment for the present.

Some Time after, fancying the Pyrates to be in better Humour, they begg'd for something to eat, for they had none of them had any Nourishment that Day or the Night before; but all the Answer they received was, that such Dogs should not ask such Questions: In the mean Time, some of the Pyrates were very busy endeavouring to persuade Captain *Greenway* to engage with them, for they knew him to be an excellent Artist, but he was obstinate and would not; then it was proposed what should be done with him, and the Word went for marrooning, which was opposed by some, because he was a *Bermudian*, meaning, that he might perhaps swim away, or swim on board his Vessel again, for the *Bermudians* are all excellent Swimmers; but as he represented, that he could not hurt them by his Swimming, he obtain'd the Favour for himself and the other

Officers, to be set ashore with *Turnley*, *Carr*, and *Rich*. Accordingly they were put into the same Boat without Oars, to the Number of eight, and were ordered to make the best of their Way on Shore.

The Pyrates, the next Day, having examined all their Vessels, and finding that *Greenway's* Sloop was not fit for their Purpose, shifted every Thing out of it; those that were sent on Shore could see from thence what they were doing, and when they saw them row off, *Greenway* swam on Board the Sloop, it is likely, to see whether they had left any Thing behind them. They perceiv'd him, and fancied, he repented his refusing to join with them, and was come to do it now; wherefore some of them return'd back to the Sloop, to speak to him, but they found him of the same Opinion he was in before; however he wheedled them into so much good Humour, that they told him he might have his Sloop again, in which, indeed, they had left nothing except an old Main-Sail, and old Fore-Sail, four small Pieces of *Irish* Beef, in an old Beef Barrel, and about twenty Biscuits, with a broken Bucket which was used to draw Water in, telling him that he and the rest must not go on Board till they were sail'd.

Greenway swam ashore again to give Notice to his Brothers in Distress, of what had pass'd; the same Afternoon *Bunch* with several others went on Shore, carrying with them six Bottles of Wine and some Biscuits. Whether this was done to tempt *Greenway* again, or no, is hard to say; for tho' they talk'd to him a great Deal, they drank all the Wine themselves to the last Bottle, and then they gave each of the poor Creatures a Glass a-piece, with a Bit of Biscuit, and immediately after fell a beating them, and so went on Board.

While they were on Shore, there came in a Turtle which belong'd to one *Thomas Bennet* of *Providence*, whereof one *Benjamin Hutchins* was Master; they soon laid hold of her, for she went excellently well; *Hutchins* was reputed an extraordinary good Pilot among those Islands, wherefore they tempted him to engage with them; at first he refused, but rather than be maroon'd, he afterwards consented.

It was now the ninth of *October*, and they were just preparing to sail, when they sent on Shore, ordering the condemn'd Malefactors to come on Board of the *Lancaster*, that was *Greenway's* Sloop; they did so in the little Boat they went on Shore in, by the Help of the same Paddle; they found several of the Pyrates there, who told them that they gave them that Sloop to return to *Providence*, tho' they let them have no more Stores, than what were named before; they bad them take the Fore-Sail, and bend it for a Gib, and furl it close down to the Boltsprit, and to furl the Main-Sail close up upon the Boom: They did as they were order'd, for they knew there was no disputing whether it was right or wrong.

Soon after, another Detachment came on Board, among which were *Bunch*

and *Dennis Macarty*, who being either mad or drunk, fell upon them, beating them, and cutting the Rigging and Sails to Pieces with their Cutlasses and commanding them not to sail, till they should hear from them again, cursing and damning, if they did, they would put them all to Death, if ever they met them again; and so they went off, carrying with them the Boat, which they sent them first ashore in, and sail'd away.

They left them in this miserable Condition without Tackle to go their Voyage, and without a Boat to get on Shore, and having Nothing in View but to perish for Want; but as Self-Preservation put them upon exerting themselves, in Order to get out of this deplorable State, they began to rummage and search the Vessel thro' every Hole and Corner, to see if nothing was left which might be of use to them; and it happen'd by Chance that they found an old Hatchet, with which they cut some Sticks sharp to serve for Marlen spikes; they also cut out several other Things, to serve instead of such Tools as are absolutely necessary on Board a Ship.

When they had proceeded thus far, every Man began to work as hard as he could; they cut a Piece of Cable, which they strung into Rope Yarns, and fell to mend their Sails with all possible Expedition; they also made a Kind of Fishing-Lines of the said Rope-Yarns, and bent some Nails crooked to serve for Hooks; but as they were destitute of a Boat, as well for the Use of Fishing as for going on Shore, they resolved to make a Bark Log, that is, to lay two or three Logs together, and tie them close, upon which two or three Men may sit very safely in smooth Water.

As soon as this was done, some Hands went on Shore, upon one of the said Logs (for they made two of them) who employ'd themselves in cutting wild Cabbage, gathering Berries, and a Fruit which the Seamen call Pricklie Pears, for Food, while some others went a Fishing upon another.—Those who went ashore also carried the old Bucket with them, so that whilst some were busy in gathering Things to serve for Provision, one Hand was constantly employ'd, in bringing fresh Water aboard in the said Bucket, which was tedious Work, considering how little could be brought at a Time, and that the Sloop lay near a Mile from the Shore.

When they had employ'd themselves thus, for about four or five Days, they brought their Sails and Tackle into such Order, having also a little Water, Cabbage, and other Things on Board, that they thought it was Time to venture to sail; accordingly they weigh'd their Anchor, and putting out all the Sail they had, got out to the Harbour's Mouth, when to their great Terror and Surprise, they saw the Pyrates coming in again.

They were much frighten'd at the Pyrates unexpected Return, because of the

Threatnings they had used to them at parting, not to sail without further Orders; wherefore they tack'd about, and ran as close into the Shore as they could, then throwing out their Bark Logs, they all put themselves upon them, and made to Land, as fast as they could work; but before they quite reach'd it, the Pyrates got so near that they fired at them, but were too far to do Execution; however, they pursued them ashore; the poor Fugitives immediately took to the Woods, and for greater Security climb'd up some Trees, whose Branches were very thick, and by that Means concealed themselves. The Pyrates not finding them, soon return'd to their Boat, and row'd on board the deserted Sloop, whose Mast and Boltsprit they cut away, and towing her into deep Water, sunk her; after which, they made again for the Shore, thinking that the Fugitives would have been come out of their lurking Holes, and that they should surprize them; but they continued still on the Tops of their Trees and saw all that pass'd, and therefore thought it safest to keep their Posts.

The Pyrates not finding them, return'd to their Vessels, and weighing their Anchors, set sail, steering Eastward: In the mean time, the poor Fugitives were in Despair, for seeing their Vessel sunk, they had scarce any Hopes left of escaping the Danger of perishing upon that uninhabited Island; there they lived eight Days, feeding upon Berries, and Shell-Fish, such as Cockles and Perriwinckles, sometimes catching a Stingrey, a Fish resembling Mead or Thornback, which coming into Shoal Water, they could wade near them, and by the Help of a Stick sharpen'd at the End, which they did by rubbing it against the Rock, (for they had not a Knife left amongst them) they stuck them as if it had been with a Spear.

It must be observed, that they had no Means of striking a Fire, and therefore their Way of dressing this Fish was, by dipping it often in Salt Water, then laying it in the Sun, till it became both hard and dry, and then they eat it.

After passing eight Days in this Manner, the Pyrates return'd, and saw the poor Fugitives ashore, who according to Custom made to the Woods; but their Hearts began to relent towards them, and sending ashore, they ordered a Man to go into the Woods single, to call out to them, and promise them upon their Honour, if they would appear, that they would give them Victuals and Drink, and not use them ill any more.

These Promises, and the Hunger which pinch'd them, tempted them to come forth, and accordingly they went on Board with them, and they were as good as their Words, for they gave them as much Beef and Biscuit as they could eat, during two or three Days they were on Board, but would not give them a Bit to carry on Shore; they also gave them three or four Blankets amongst them, to cover their Nakedness (for as we observed, they were quite naked) and let them

have some Needles and Thread, to make them into some Form.

There was on Board one *George Redding*, an Inhabitant of *Providence*, who was taken out of the *Turtle Sloop*, and who was a forced Man, being an Acquaintance of *Richard Turnley*, and knowing, that he was resolved to go ashore again, rather than engage with the Pyrates, and hearing him say, that they could find Food to keep them alive, if they had but Fire to dress it, privately gave him a Tinder-Box, with Materials in it for striking Fire, which, in his Circumstances, was a greater Present than Gold or Jewels.

Soon after, the Pyrates put the Question to them, whether they would engage, or be put ashore? And they all agreed upon the latter: Upon which a Debate arose amongst the Pyrates, whether they should comply with their Request or no? And at length it was agreed, that *Greenway* and the other two Masters should be kept whether they would or no: And the rest, being five in Number, should be as the Pyrates express'd it, have a second Refreshment of the Varieties of the Island.

Accordingly *Richard Turnley*, *James Carr*, *Thomas Rich*, *John Cox*, and *John Taylor*, were a second Time marooned, and the Pyrates as soon as they landed them, sail'd off, steering Eastward, till they came to an Island call'd *Pudden Point*, near *Long-Island* in the Latitude of 24, where they cleaned their Vessels.

In the mean Time *Turnley* and his Companions made a much better Shift than they had done before, his Friend *George Redding's* Present being of infinite Use to them, for they constantly kept a good Fire, with which they broil'd their Fish; there were Plenty of Land Crabs and Snakes in the Island, which they could eat when they were dress'd, and thus they pass'd fourteen Days: At the End of which, the Pyrates made them another Visit, and they according to Custom made for the Woods, thinking that the Reason of their Return must be, in order to force them to serve amongst them.

But here they were mistaken, for the Anger of these Fellows being over, they began to pity them, and came now with a Design to succour them; but going ashore, and not finding them, they knew they were hid for Fear: Nevertheless, they left upon the Shore, where they knew they would come, some Stores which they intended in this Fit of good Humour to present them with.

The poor Islanders were got to their Retreat, the Tops of the Trees, and saw the Pyrates go off; upon which they ventured down, and going to the Water-side, were agreeably surprized to find a small Cask of Flower, of betwixt twenty and thirty Pounds, about a Bushel of Salt, two Bottles of Gunpowder, several Bullets, besides a Quantity of small Shot, with a Couple of Musquets, a very good Axe, and also a Pot and a Pan, and three Dogs, which they took in the *Turtle Sloop*; which Dogs are bred to Hunting, and generally the Sloops which go Turtling,

carry some of them, as they are very useful in tracing out the wild Hogs; besides all these, there were a dozen Horn-handled Knives, of that Sort which are usually carried to *Guiney*.

They carried all these Things into the Wood, to that Part where they had their fresh Water, and where they usually kept, and immediately went to work with their Axe; some cutting down Bows, and making Poles, so that four of them were employ'd in building a Hut, while *Richard Turnley* taking the Dogs and a Gun, went a hunting, he understanding that Sport very well. He had not been gone long before he kill'd a large Boar, which he brought home to his Companions, who fell to cutting it up, and some they dress'd for their Dinner, and the rest they salted, for another Time.

Thus they lived, as they thought, very happy, in respect to their former Condition; but after four Days, the Pyrates made them another Visit, for they wanted to fill some Casks with Water: It happen'd when they came in, that *Turnley* was gone a Hunting, and the rest all busy at some Work, so that they did not see them, till they just came into the Wood upon them; seeing the Hut, one of them in Wantonness set it on Fire, and it was burnt to the Ground; and they appear'd inclined to do Mischief, when *Richard Turnley* knowing nothing of the Matter, happened to return from Hunting, with a fine Hog upon his Back, as much as he could carry; he was immediately surrounded by the Pyrates, who seized upon the fresh Meat, and which seemed to put them into better Humour, they made *Richard Cox* carry it down to their Boat, and when he had done, they gave him a Bottle of Rum to carry back to his Companions to drink their Healths, telling him, that they might get home if they could, or if they staid there, they never would trouble them any more.

They were, indeed, as good as their Words, for sailing away immediately, they made for *Long Island*, and coming up toward the Salt Ponds there, they saw at a Distance in the Harbour, three Vessels at an Anchor, and supposing them to be either *Bermudas* or *New-York* Sloops lying there to take in Salt, they bore down upon them with all the Sail they could make, expecting a good Booty. The *Turtle Sloop* taken from *Benjamin Hutchins*, was by much the best Sailor; however, it was almost dark before she came up with them, and then coming close alongside of one of them, she gave a Broadside, with a Design to board the next Minute, but received such a Volley of small Shot in return, as killed and wounded a great many of the Pyrates, and the rest, in great Surprise and Fright, jumped overboard, to save themselves by swimming ashore.

The Truth on't is, these Sloops proved to be *Spanish* Privateers, who observing the Pyrates to bear down upon them, prepared themselves for Action: The Commander in Chief of these three Privateers was one who was called by

the Name of *Turn Joe*, because he had once privateer'd on the *English* Side; he had also been a Pirate, and now acted by Vertue of a Commission from a *Spanish* Governor. He was by Birth an *Irishman*, a bold enterprising Fellow, and was afterwards killed in an Engagement with one *John Bonnavée*, Captain of Privateer belonging to *Jamaica*.

But to return to our Story: The Sloop was taken, and on board her was found, desperately wounded *Phineas Bunch*, who was the Captain.—By and by a second of the Pirate Sloops came up; she heard the Volley, and supposed it to be fired by *Bunch*, when he boarded one of the Sloops; she came also alongside of one of the *Spaniards*, and received the Welcome that was given to *Bunch*, and submitted as soon. A little after, came up the third, which was taken with the same Ease, and in the same Manner, as many of the Pirates as could swim, jumping over board to save themselves on Shore, there not being a Man lost on the Side of the *Spaniards*.

The next Day *Turn Joe* asked them many Questions, and finding out that several amongst them had been forc'd Men, he, with the Consent of the other *Spanish* Officers, ordered all the Goods to be taken out of a *Spanish* Launce, and putting some of the wounded Pirates into the said Launce, with some Provision, Water, and other Liquors, gave it to the forced Men, to carry them to *Providence*.

Accordingly *George Redding*, *Thomas Betty*, *Matthew Betty*, *Benjamin Hutchins*, with some others, set Sail, and in eight and forty Hours arrived in the Harbour of *Providence*.

They went on Shore immediately, and acquainted the Governor with every Thing that had pass'd, from the Time of their setting out, acquainting him, that *Phineas Bunch*, who was one of the chief Authors of all the Mischief, was on board the *Launce*; the Governor, with some others, went and examined him, and he confessed all, wherefore there was no Occasion for a Trial; and as he had been pardoned before, and it was necessary to make some speedy Example, it was resolved that he should be executed the next Day, but it was prevented by his dying that Night of his Wounds.

They also informed the Governor of the Condition of *Turnley*, *Car*, and the rest, who were marooned by the Pirates upon *Green Key* Island; upon which the Governor sent for one *John Sims*, a Molotto Man, who had a two Mast Boat in the Harbour of *Providence*, very fit for sailing; and laying some Provisions into the said Boat, ordered him to get five or six Hands, and to sail for *Green Key*, in order to bring off the five Men there marooned.

Sims accordingly made the best of his Way, and sailing out in the Morning, arrived at *Green Key* the next Day towards Evening. The poor People on Shore

saw them, and supposing them to be some of the Pyrates returned, thought it best to take to the Wood and hide, not knowing what Humour they might be in now.

Sims and his Ship-Mates carried some Provision on Shore, not knowing but they might want, and searched about, and calling out to them by their Names. After wandering about some Time, they came to the Place where the Fire was constantly kept; at perceiving which, they fancied they must be thereabouts, and that it would be best to wait for them there, and accordingly they sat them down, laying the Provisions near them. *Turnley*, who was climbed to the Top of a Tree just by, saw them, and observed their Motions, and fancied they were no Enemies who were bringing them Provisions, and, looking more earnestly, he knew *Sims* the Molotto, whom he was very well acquainted with at *Providence*; upon which he called him, who desired him to come down, telling him the comfortable News, that he was come to the Relief of him and his Companions.

Turnley made what Haste he could to the Bottom, and as soon as he was down, summoned his Companions, who were climbed to the Top of some neighbouring Trees, being in Haste to communicate the glad Tidings to them; being all together, the Molotto related to them the History of what had happened to the Pyrates.

That Night they supped comfortably together upon the Provision brought ashore; but so strange an Effect has Joy, that scarce one of them slept a Wink that Night, as they declared. The next Day they agreed to go a Hunting, in order to get something fresh to carry off with them, and were so successful, that they killed three fine Hogs. When they return'd, they made the best of their Way on Board, carrying with them all their Utensils, and set Sail for *Providence*, whither they arrived in three Days; it being now just seven Weeks from the Time of their being first set on Shore by the Pyrates.

The Governor, in the mean Time, was fitting out a Sloop to send for *Long Island*, in order to take those Pyrates who had saved themselves near the Salt Ponds there, which Sloop was now ready to sail, and put under the Command of *Benjamin Horneygold*; *Turnley* and his Companions embarked on Board of her, and Care was taken to get as many Men as they could, who were entire Strangers to the Pyrates.

When they arrived at the said Island, they run in pretty near the Shore, keeping but few Hands on Deck, that it might look like a trading Vessel, and those Men that were quite unknown to the Pyrates.

The Pyrates seeing them, came only two or three of them near the Shore, the rest lying in Ambush, not without Hopes of finding an Opportunity to seize the Sloop. The Sloop sent her Boat out towards the Shore, with Orders to lie off at a little Distance, as if she was afraid: Those in Ambush seeing the Boat so near,

had not Patience to stay any longer, but flocked to the Water Side, calling out to them to come on Shore, and help them, for they were poor Ship-wreck'd Men, almost perish'd for Want. Upon which the Boat row'd back again to the Sloop.

Upon second Thoughts they sent her off again with two Bottles of Wine, a Bottle of Rum, and some Biscuits, and sent another Man, who was a Stranger to those ashore, with Orders to pass for Master of the Vessel. As soon as they approach'd them, the Pyrates call'd to them as before, begging them, for God's sake to come on Shore; they did so, and gave them the Biscuit, Wine and Rum, which he said he brought ashore on purpose to comfort them, because his Men told him they were cast away. They were very inquisitive to know where he was bound; he told them, to *New-York*, and that he came in there to take in Salt: They earnestly intreated him to take them on Board, and carry them as Passengers to *New-York*; they being about sixteen in Number, he answered, he was afraid he had not Provision sufficient for so great a Number; but that he would go on Board and over-hall his Provision, and, if they pleased, some of them might go with him, and see how his Stock stood, that at least he would carry some of them, and leave some Refreshment for the rest, till they could be succoured another Way, but that he hoped they would make him some Recompence when they should arrive at *New York*.

They seemed wonderfully pleased with his Proposal, and promised to make him ample Satisfaction for all the Charges he should be at, pretending to have good Friends and considerable Effects in several Parts of *America*. Accordingly he took several of them with him in the Boat, and as soon as they got on Board, he invited them into the Cabin, where, to their Surprize, they saw *Benjamin Horneygold*, formerly a Brother Pyrate; but what astonished them more, was to see *Richard Turnley*, whom they had lately marooned upon *Green Key*; they were immediately surrounded by several with Pistols in their Hands, and clapped in Irons.

As soon as this was over, the Boat went on Shore again, and those in the Boat told the Pyrates, that the Captain would venture to carry them with what Provision he had; at which they appeared much rejoiced, and so the rest were brought on Board, and without much Trouble clapped in Irons, as well as their Companions.

The Sloop had nothing more to do, and therefore set Sail, and reaching *Providence*, delivered the Pyrates all Prisoners into the Fort: A Court of Admiralty was immediately called, and they were all tried, and ten received Sentence of Death; the other six were acquitted, it appearing that they were forced. The following nine were executed in the Manner described in the first Volume, *John Augur*, *William Cunningham*, *Dennis Macarty*, *William Lewis*,

Thomas Morris, George Bendal, William Morris, George Bendal, William Ling, and George Rogers. George Rounsavil was reprieved after he had been tied up, and just going to be cast off, and was brought down to see the Execution of the rest.

But we cannot quit this Story without taking Notice of the Fate of this *George Rounsavil*. He work'd for some Time ashore for his living, but afterwards ingaged himself with Captain *Burghess*, a pardoned Pyrate, who had received a Commission to go a privateering. It happened they were driven upon the Rocks to the Southward of *Green Key* Island, and there they were beat to pieces; this *Rounsavil*, with five others, upon the first Shock, stept into the Canoe, and were going off, when *Burghess* standing upon the Poop of his Vessel, call'd out to him, saying, *Will you go away and leave me to perish in this Manner*. *Rounsavil* begg'd his Companions to put back, and take him in; but they answered, that the rest would be as willing to save themselves as he, and of Consequence, so many would crowd into the Canoe as would sink it, wherefore they would not venture it; upon which he jump'd into the Water, and swam to the Vessel, and there perished with his Friend since he could not save him.





Of Captain TEACH.

We shall add here a few Particulars (not mentioned in our first Volume) of the famous *Blackbeard*, relating to his taking the *South Carolina* Ships, and insulting that Colony. This was at the Time that the Pyrates had obtained such an Acquisition of Strength, that they were in no Concern about preserving themselves from the Justice of Laws, but of advancing their Power, and maintaining their Sovereignty, not over the Seas only, but to stretch their Dominions to the Plantations themselves, and the Governors thereof, insomuch that when their Prisoners came aboard their Captors Ships, the Pyrates freely own'd their Acquaintance with them, and never endeavour'd to conceal their Names, or Habitations, as if they had been Inhabitants of a legal Commonwealth, and were resolved to treat with all the World on the Foot of a free State; and all judicial Acts went in the Name of *Teach*, under the Title of Commodore.

All the *Carolina* Prisoners were lodg'd aboard the Commodore's Ship, after being strictly examin'd concerning the Lading of their Vessels, and the Number and Condition of other Traders in the Harbour; when they thought they would sail, and whither bound: And the Enquiry was so solemnly carried on, that the Pyrates swore, that it should be Death for that Man that told a Lye, or otherwise shifted or evaded in his Answers. At the same Time all their Papers were perused with the same Diligence as though it had been at the Secretary's Office here in *England*. When this Business was gone through, Word was given, that all the Prisoners should be immediately turn'd aboard their own Ship, out of which they had already taken their Provisions and Stores. This was done with that Hurry and Precipitation, that it struck a great Terror in the unfortunate People, verily believing they were then going to their Destruction; and what seem'd to confirm them in this Notion was, that no Regard was had to the Qualities of the Prisoners, but Merchants, Gentlemen of Rank, and even a Child of Mr. *Wragg's*, were thrust aboard in a tumultuous and confus'd Manner, and lock'd all under the Hatches, where not so much as one Pyrate stay'd amongst them.

In this melancholly Situation were these innocent People left, bewailing their

Condition for several Hours, expecting every Moment that pass'd either that a Match would be laid to a Train to blow them up, or that the Ship was to be set on Fire, or sunk; no Body could tell which, but every one supposed they were, one Way or other, destin'd for a Sacrifice to their brutal Humours.

But, at length, a Gleam of Light shot in upon them, that recover'd their drooping Souls; the Hatches were unlaid, and they were immediately order'd back on board the Commodore: They began then to think the Pyrates had changed their savage Resolution; and that God had inspired them with Sentiments less shocking to Nature and Humanity, and they went aboard, as it were, with new Life. The Chief of them were brought before *Blackbeard*, the Pyrates General, who acquainted them with the Occasion of that extraordinary Procedure; and that they were only put out of the Way while a general Council was held, at which Time they suffer'd no Prisoner to be present. He told them, the Company was in want of Medicines, and must be supply'd from the Province; that their first Surgeon had drawn up a Catalogue, which he would send to the Governor and Council, by two of his own Officers, for whose safe Return, as well as for the Chest it self, they had come to a Resolution of keeping all the Prisoners as Hostages, who would all be put to Death, if such their Demands were not comply'd with punctually.

Mr. *Wragg* answer'd, that, perhaps, it might not be in their Power to comply with every Part of it; and, he fear'd, that some certain Drugs in the Surgeon's List, were not to be had in the Province; and, if it should prove so, he hop'd they would be contented to have that Want made up by substituting something else in the Place. He likewise proposed, that one of them might go with the two Gentlemen that were to be sent on the Embassy, who might truly represent the Danger they were in, and induce them more readily to submit, in order to save the Lives of so many of the King's Subjects; and further, to prevent any Insult from the common People, (for whose Conduct, on such an Occasion, they could not answer) on the Persons of his Envoys.

His Excellency *Blackbeard* thought this Advice reasonable, and therefore call'd another Council, who likewise approv'd of the Amendment; thereupon Mr. *Wragg*, who was the first in Authority, and known to be a Man of good Understanding among the *Carolynians*, was offer'd, and the Gentleman, himself, was willing to leave a young Son in the Hands of the Pyrates, till he should return, which he promis'd to do, though the Government should refuse the Terms of their Releasement: But *Blackbeard* positively deny'd this Request, saying, he knew too well of what consequence he was in the *Provence*, and he would be equally so to them, and therefore he should be the last Man they would part with.

After some Debate, Mr. *Marks* was agreed upon to accompany the Ambassadors, and accordingly they went off from the Fleet in a Canoe, and two Days were appointed for their Return; in the mean while the Commadore lay too at five or six Leagues Distance from the Land, expecting the Conditions of Peace; but the Time expiring, and nothing appearing from the Harbour, Mr. *Wragg* was sent for up before *Teach*, who putting on a terrible Countenance, told him, they were not to be trifled with, that he imagined some foul Treachery was play'd them, and that nothing but immediate Death to them all should be the Consequence of it. Mr. *Wragg* begg'd to respite the dreadful Execution one Day longer, for, that he was sure, the Province regarded their Lives so much, that they would be solicitous to the last Degree to redeem them; that, perhaps, some Misfortune might have befallen the Canoe in going in, or it might be their own Men that occasioned the Delay, for either of which it would be hard for them to suffer.

Teach was pacified for the present, and allow'd a Day more for their coming back; but at the End of that Time, how was he enraged to find himself disappointed, calling them Villains a thousand Times, and swearing, they should not live two Hours. Mr. *Wragg*, humour'd him all he could, and desired a good Look-out should be kept. Matters seem'd now to be coming to Extremities, and no Body thought their Lives worth a Day's Purchase; the innocent People were under great Agonies of Mind, expecting that nothing but a Miracle could preserve them from being crush'd by the Weight of the Enemy's Power, when Word was given from the Forecastle, that a small Boat appear'd in Sight. This raised their drooping Spirits, and reviv'd their Hopes; *Blackbeard* went forward himself with his Spying-Glass, and declared he could perceive his own Scarlet Cloak he lent Mr. *Marks* to go ashore in; this was thought to be a sure Reprieve, till the Boat came aboard, and then their Fears returned, seeing neither the Pyrates, Mr. *Marks*, nor the Chest of Medicines in the Boat.

This Boat, it seems, was sent off by Mr. *Marks* very discreetly, lest a Misconstruction should be put upon the Stay, that an unfortunate Accident had occasioned, and which the Men that belong'd to her acquainted the Commadore of, viz. That the Boat they had sent ashore was cast away, being overset by a sudden Squall of Wind, and the Men with great Trouble had got ashore at the uninhabited Island of three or four Leagues from the Main, that having staid there some time till reduced to Extremity, there being no Provision of any Kind, and fearing what Disaster might befall the Prisoners aboard; the Persons belonging to their Company, set Mr. *Marks* upon a Hatch, and floated it upon the Sea, after which, they stripp'd and flung themselves in, and swimming after it, and thrust the Float forward, endeavouring, by that means, to get to Town. This

prov'd a very tedious Voiture, and in all Likelihood they had perished, had not this Fishing Boat sail'd by in the Morning, and perceiving something in the Water, made to it, and took them in, when they were near spent with their Labour.

When they were thus providentially preserv'd, Mr. *Marks* went into and there hired a Boat which carried them to *Charles Town*; in the mean time he had sent this Boat to give them an Account of the Accident. Mr. *Teach* was pacified with this Relation, and consented to stay two Days longer, since there appeared no Fault of theirs in causing this Delay. At the End of two Days, they lost all Patience, and the Commodore could not be prevail'd on to give them any longer Time than the next Morning to live, if the Boat did not return by that Time. Still expecting and still disappointed, the Gentlemen knew not what to say, nor how to excuse their Friends at Land; some of them told the Pyrates, that they had equal Reason with them to blame their Conduct; that they doubted not, by what had already happen'd, of Mr. *Mark's* doing his Duty faithfully; and since they had received Notice of the Boat's going safe into *Charles Town*, they could not conceive what should hinder the Execution of the Business, unless they put a greater Value on the Chest of Medicines, than on the Lives of fourscore Men now on the Verge of Destruction. *Teach*, for his Part, believed they had imprisoned his Men, and refused the Condition of the Prisoner's Enlargement, and swore a thousand Times, that they should not only die, but every *Carolina* Man that hereafter should fall into his Hands. The Prisoners, at last, petitioned to have this one Favour granted, viz. That the Fleet should weigh and stand off the Harbour, and if they should not then see the Boat coming out, that they the Prisoners would pilot them in before the Town, which, if they pleased to batter down, they would stand by them to the last Man.

This Proposal of taking Revenge for the supposed Treachery (as the Commodore was pleased to term it) suited well enough the Savage Temper of the General and his Brutes, and he acquiesc'd at once. The Project was likewise approv'd on by the Myrmidons, and accordingly they weigh'd Anchor, being in all eight Sail of Ships, which were the Prizes they had in Custody, and rang'd along the Town; the Inhabitants then had their Share of the Fright, expecting nothing less than a general Attack; the Men were brought all under Arms, but not in so regular a manner as might have been done, had the Surprise been less; but the Women and Children ran about the Street like mad Things. However, before Matters came to Extremities, the Boat was seen coming out, which brought Redemption to the poor Captives, and Peace to all.

The Chest was brought aboard, and accepted of, and it further appear'd, that Mr. *Marks* had done his Duty, and the Blame of the Delay was deservedly

thrown on the two Pyrates that were sent on the Embassy; for while the Gentlemen attended the Governor and Council upon the Business, the other fine Gentlemen were visiting and drinking with their *quondam* Friends and Acquaintance, and going from House to House, so that they were not to be found when the Medicines were ready to go aboard; and Mr. *Marks* knew it were Death to them all to go without them, for the Commodore would not easily have believ'd, had they not returned, that there had been no foul Play acted by them. But now none but smiling Countenances were seen aboard; the Storm that threatned the Prisoners so heavily, blew over, and a Day of Sun-shine succeeded; in short, *Blackbeard* released them as he had promised, and sent them away in the Ships after he had done with them, and then sail'd off the Coast, as has been mentioned in *Vol. I. page 73.*

What follows, contains Reflections on a Gentleman now deceas'd, who was Governor of *North Carolina*, namely, *Charles Eden*, Esq; which, we apprehend, by Accounts since receiv'd, to be without just Grounds, therefore, it will be necessary to say something in this Place, to take off the Calumny thrown on his Character, by Persons who have misjudged of his Conduct by the Height Things appeared in at that time.

Upon a Review of this Part of *Blackbeard's* Story, it does not seem, by any Matters of Fact candidly considered, that the said Governour held any private or criminal Correspondence with this Pyrate; and I have been inform'd since, by very good Hands, that Mr. *Eden* always behaved, as far as he had Power, in a manner suitable to his Post, and bore the Character of a good Governor, and an honest Man.

But his Misfortune was, the Weakness of the Colony he commanded, wanting Strength to punish the Disorders of *Teach*, who lorded it at Pleasure, not only in the Plantation, but in the Governor's own Habitation, threatening to destroy the Town with Fire and Sword, if any Injury was offer'd to him or his Companions, insomuch, that he sometimes drew up his Vessel against the Town, and once, when he suspected that there was a Design of seizing him, he went ashore to the Governor well armed, and left Orders with his Men on board, that in Case he should not return in an Hour's Time (as he determined, if at Liberty) to batter down the House about their Ears, without any more to do, notwithstanding he himself were to be in it. Such were the outrageous Insolencies of this Villain, who was so big with Mischief, that he resolved to be revenged upon his Enemies at all Events, even tho' he should give up his own Life, as a Sacrifice, to obtain

those wicked Ends.

It is to be observed, that *Blackbeard*, nevertheless, as to his Pyracies, had comply'd with the Proclamation, and thereby satisfied the Law, and having a Certificate thereof from under the Hand of his Excellency, he could not be prosecuted for any of those Crimes committed heretofore, because they were wiped off by the said Proclamation of Pardon: And as to condemning the *French Martinico* Man that *Blackbeard* brought in to *North Carolina* afterwards, the Governor proceeded judicially upon her. He called a Court of Vice Admiralty, by virtue of his Commission; at which four of the Crew swore they found the Ship at Sea with no Person on board her, so the Court condemn'd her, as any other Court must have done, and the Cargo was disposed of according to Law.

As to the secret Expedition from *Virginia*, undertaken by the Governor and the two Captains of Men of War, they had their secret Views in it: The Men of War had lain up these ten Months whilst the Pyrates infested the Coast, and did great Mischief, for which, 'tis likely, they might have been called to an Account; but the Success of the Enterprize against *Teach*, alias *Blackbeard*, perhaps prevented such Enquiry, tho' I am at a Loss to know what Acts of Pyracy he had committed after this Surrender to the Proclamation; the *French Ship* was lawfully condemned, as has been said before, and if he had committed any Depredations amongst the Planters, as they seem'd to complain of, they were not upon the high Sea, but either in the River, or on Shore, and could not come within the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty, nor under any Laws of Pyracy. The Governor of *Virginia* found his Interest in the Affair; for he sent, at the same time, a Force by Land, and seiz'd considerable Effects of *Blackbeard's* in *Eden's* Province, which was certainly a new Thing for the Governor of one Province, whose Commission was limited to that Jurisdiction, to exercise Authority in another Government, and the Governour himself upon the Spot. Thus was poor Mr. *Eden* insulted and abused on all Sides, without having the Power of doing himself Justice, and asserting his lawful Rights.

In fine, to do Justice to Governor *Eden's* Character, who is since dead, there did not appear from any Writings or Letters found in *Blackbeard's* Sloop, or from any other Evidence whatsoever, that the said Governor was concerned at all in any Male Practice; but on the contrary, that during his Continuance in that Post, he was honour'd and beloved by his Colony, for his Uprightness, Probity, and prudent Conduct in his Administration; what Affairs were carried on privately by his then Secretary I know not; he died a few Days after *Blackbeard's* Destruction, and no Enquiry was made; perhaps there might be no Occasion for it.



Of Major BONNET.

I have but few Words to add to Major *Bonnet*'s Life and Actions; when his Dissolution drew nigh, all his Resolution fail'd him, and his Fears and Agonies so wrought upon him, that he was scarce sensible when he came to the Place of Execution. His piteous Behaviour under Sentence, very much affected the People of the Province, particularly the Women, and great Application was made to the Governor for saving his Life, but in vain; not that his Excellency Colonel *Johnson* pleased himself in Acts of severe Justice, but he knew his Duty too well to be misled by the Tears and Prayers of weak and inconsiderate People, when the publick Good, as well as his own Honour, stood in Question. Had not *Bonnet* escap'd out of his Keeper's Hand, after he was taken, and occasioned the Death of his Fellow-Prisoner *Harriot*, by resisting the Governor's Authority, and therein given a new Specimen of his disloyal Intentions, something might have been done in his Favour; but he was become too notorious, and too dangerous a Criminal, to give Life to. However, the Governor who conducted himself in his Post as well as in his private Capacity, with great Probity, Honour, and Candour, hearkened to a Proposal of *Bonnet*'s Friends, which was to send him Prisoner to *England*, that his Case might be referr'd to his Majesty. Col. *Rhet* offer'd to go with him, and sufficient Security was to be given for yielding him up there, to be dealt with according to his Majesty's Pleasure; but the Major's Friends considered, at last, that it would be a great Expence and Trouble to no manner of purpose, except the lengthening out a wretched Life some small Time longer; for they conceived as little Hope of obtaining a Pardon in *England* as in *South Carolina*; so they even submitted to the Execution of that Sentence upon the Major, that had with so much Justice pass'd upon him. I shall subjoin here a Copy of a Letter, writ to the Governor from the Prisoner sometime before he died.

Honoured Sir,

'I Have presumed, on the Confidence of your eminent Goodness, to throw my

self, after this manner, at your Feet, to implore you'll graciously be pleased to look upon me with tender Bowels of Pity and Compassion; and believe me to be the most miserable Man this Day breathing: That the Tears proceeding from my most sorrowful Soul may soften your Heart, and incline you to consider my dismal State, wholly, I must confess, unprepared to receive so soon the dreadful Execution you have been pleas'd to appoint me; and therefore beseech you to think me an Object of your Mercy.

'For God Sake, good Sir, let the Oaths of three Christian Men weigh something with you, who are ready to depose, when you please to allow them the Liberty, the Compulsions I lay under in committing those Acts, for which I am doom'd to die.

'I intreat you not to let me fall a Sacrifice to the Envy and ungodly Rage of some few Men, who, not being yet satisfied with Blood, feign to believe, that if I had the Happiness of a longer Life in this World, I should still employ it in a wicked Manner; which, to remove that and all other Doubts with your Honour, I heartily beseech you'll permit me to live, and I'll voluntarily put it ever out of my Power, by separating all my Limbs from my Body, only reserving the Use of my Tongue, to call continually on, and pray to the Lord, my God, and mourn all my Days in Sack-cloth and Ashes to work out confident Hopes of my Salvation, at that great and dreadful Day, when all righteous Souls shall receive their just Rewards: And to render your Honour a further Assurance of being incapable to prejudice any of my Fellow-Christians, if I was so wickedly bent; I humbly beg you will (as a Punishment of my Sins for my poor Soul's Sake) indent me a menial Servant to your Honour and this Government, during my Life, and send me up to the farthest Inland Garrison or Settlement in the Country, or any otherways you'll be pleased to dispose of me; and likewise that you'll receive the Willingness of my Friends to be bound for my good Behaviour, and constant Attendance to your Commands.

'I once more beg for the Lord's Sake, dear Sir, that as you are a Christian, you will be so charitable to have Mercy and Compassion on my miserable Soul, but too newly awaked from an Habit of Sin, to entertain so confident Hopes and Assurance of its being received into the Arms of my blessed Jesus, as is necessary to reconcile me to so speedy a Death; wherefore, as my Life, Blood, Reputation of my Family, and future happy State lies entirely at your Disposal; I implore you to consider me with a christian and charitable Heart, and determine mercifully of me, that I may ever acknowledge and esteem you next to God my Saviour; and oblige me ever to pray, that our heavenly Father will also forgive your Trespasses.

'Now the God of Peace, that brought again from the Dead our Lord Jesus, that

great Shepherd of the Sheep, thro' the Blood of the everlasting Covenant, make you perfect in every good Work to do his Will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his Sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory for ever and ever, is the hearty Prayer of

*Your Honour's
Most miserable, and
Afflicted Servant,
STEDE BONNET.'*





Of Captain WORLEY.

The History of the Pyrates being an Undertaking of great Length and Variety, the Author readily owns, that in some Parts, he may not be so exact, as they who have been occasionally upon the Spot when these particular Incidents have happen'd. But in any Circumstances he has omitted or misrepresented, he applies to such Persons for better Information; which Correction or Addition (as several others have been) shall be inserted as a Supplement to the whole.

And he hereby acknowledges himself much obliged to the worthy Gentleman who sent the following Letter, for his kind Assistance, in promoting his chief Design, which is to render as compleat as possible, a Work of so difficult a Nature.

To Mr. Johnson, Author of the Lives of the Pyrates.

SIR,

In perusing your Book, Entitled, *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the most notorious Pyrates*, &c. I find there an Account of the taking Captain Worley and his Crew, in many Particulars of which you have been very much misinformed, and consequently the Publick is so; that Pyrate having been taken off the Bar of *Charles Town* in *South Carolina* by Col. *Robert Johnson*, the then Governor, in Person; to whom to do Justice, I have sent you the following Account of the taking him; for, as to his Beginning and Rise, I cannot say but your Account may be right, as you have set it forth in your aforesaid Book.

In *October*, 1718, Governor *Johnson* was informed, that there was a Pyrate Ship off the Bar of *Charles Town*, commanded by one *Moody*, carrying 50 Guns, and near 200 Men, that he had taken two Ships bound to that Port from *New England*, and was come to an Anchor with them to the Southward of the Bar; whereupon, he called his Council and the principal Gentlemen of the Place, and proposed to them, to fit out a proper Force to go out and attack him, fearing he might lie there some Time, as *Thatch* and *Vane* had done before, and annoy the

Trade; which they unanimously agreeing, and there being, at that Time, 14 or 15 Ships in the Harbour, he impress'd the *Mediterranean* Gally, *Arthur Loan*, and the King *William*, *John Watkinson*, Commanders; and two Sloops, one of which was the *Revenge*, taken from *Stede Bonnet*, the Pyrate, and another from *Philadelphia*; the former, Captain *John Masters* commanded, and the latter, Captain *Fayrer Hall*; which two Captains had lately commanded the same Sloops that took *Bonnet* at *Cape Fear*, about a Month before. On board the *Mediterranean* was put 24 Guns, and 30 on Board the King *William*; the *Revenge* Sloop had 8, and the other Sloop 6 Guns; and being thus equipp'd, the Governor issued a Proclamation, to encourage Volunteers to go on Board, promising 'em all the Booty to be shar'd among them, and that he himself would go in Person with 'em; but the Ships and Sloops before-mentioned being impress'd, it was natural for the Commanders to desire some Assurance of Satisfaction to be made the Owners, in Case of a Misfortune; so that the Governor found it necessary to call the General Assembly of the Province, without whom it was impossible for him to give them the Satisfaction they desired, and who, without any Hesitation, pass'd a Vote, that they would pay for the said Vessels, in Case they were lost, according to an Appraisement then made of them, and what other Expences accrued to carry on this necessary Expedition. This Way of Proceeding took up a Week's Time, during which, the Governor ordered Scout Boats to ply up and down the River, as well to guard the Port from any Attempts the Pyrates might make to Land, as to hinder them from having Advice of what was doing, and also laid an Embargo on the Shipping.

About three Days before the Governor sail'd, there appear'd off the Barr a Ship, and a Sloop, who came to an Anchor, and made a Signal for a Pilot; but they being suppos'd to be *Moody*, and a Sloop that had join'd him (as it was said he expected) no Pilot was permitted to go near them, and thus they rid for four Days, once or twice attempting to send their Boat on Shore, to an Island, call'd, *Suivivants* Island (as they afterwards confess'd) to fetch Water, of which they were in great Want; but they were prevented by the Scout Boats before-mentioned: And, for Want of which, they were obliged to continue in the same Station, in hopes some Ship would be coming in or going out, to relieve their Necessities, they being very short also of Provisions.

And now all Things being ready, and about Three hundred Men on Board the four Vessels, the Governor thought himself a Match for *Moody* in his 50 Gun Ship, although he should be, as they thought he was, join'd by a Sloop: And therefore, he sail'd with his Fleet below *Johnson's* Fort over Night, and the next Morning by Break of Day, weigh'd Anchor, and by Eight in the Morning, they were over the Bar.

The Pyrate Sloop immediately slipt her Cable, hoisted a black Flag, and stood to get between the Bar and the Governor's Ships, to prevent their going in again, as they expected they would have done; and in a small Time after, the Pyrate Ship also hoisted a black Flag, and made Sail after the Sloop; during all this Time, the Men on Board the Governor's Vessels did not appear, nor was there any Shew of Guns, until they came within half Gun-shot; when the Governor hoisted a Flag at the Main-top-mast Head of the *Mediterranean*, they all flung out their Guns, and giving them their Broad-sides, the Pyrates immediately run, whereupon, the Governor ordered the two Sloops after the Pyrate Sloop, who stood in towards the Shore, while himself and the King *William* followed the Ship who stood the contrary Way to Sea. She seemed to have many Ports, and very full of Men, tho' she had fir'd but from two Guns, which occasion'd no small Wonder on Board the Governor, why she had not flung open her Ports, and made Use of more Guns, she being imagined all this while to be *Moody*.

The Sloop, which proved to be *Worley*, was attacked by the two Sloops so warmly, that the Men run into the Hold, all except *Worley* himself and some few others, who were killed on the Deck; and being boarded, they took her within Sight of *Charles Town*: The People seeing the Action from the Tops of their Houses, and the Masts of the Ships in the Harbour, where they had placed themselves for that Purpose; but it was Three in the Afternoon before the Governor and the King *William* came up with the Ship, who, during the Chase, had taken down her Flagg, and wrapping the small Arms in it, had thrown them over-board; and also flung over her Boat and what other Things they thought would lighten her, but all would not do: The King *William* came first up with her, and firing his Chase Guns, killed several of the People on board, and they immediately struck; when, to the no small Surprize of the Governor and his Company, there appeared near as many Women on board as Men, who were not a few neither. The Ship proving to be the *Eagle*, bound from *London* to *Virginia*, with Convicts; but had been taken by *Worley* off the *Cape of Virginia*, and had upwards of 100 Men and 30 Women on board. Many of the Men had taken on with the Pyrates, and as such, found in *Carolina* the Fate they had deserved at home, being hang'd at *Charles Town*; the virtuous Ladies were designed to have been landed on one of the uninhabited *Bahama* Islands, where there was a proper Port for these Rovers to put in, at any Time, to refresh themselves, after the Fatigue of the Sea. And thus a most hopeful Colony would have commenced, if they had had but Provisions and Water sufficient to have carried them to Sea; but their Fate kept them so long before the Port of *Charles Town*, until they were destroyed, and an End put to their wicked Lives, in the Manner before-mentioned.

Notwithstanding all the Governor's Care, that no Advice should be given *Moody* of the Preparations making for him, some People from the Shore were so wicked, as to go off in the Night and give him a particular Account of the Ships, Sloops, and Men, that were preparing to go out against him; whereupon, he having taken (about three Days before the Governor went) the *Minerva*, Captain *Smyter*, from the *Maderas*, laden with Wine, he immediately weighed Anchor and took his Prize with him, and stood out above one hundred Leagues to Sea, where he plundered her, and named to the Master not only the Vessels, but some of the very Persons were coming out to attack him, by which Advice he escaped, and *Worley* coming just as the other was gone, met the Fate designed for *Moody*; who having taken out most of the Wine from on board the *Minerva*, and plundered her, he discharged, and sail'd for *Providence*, and soon after took the Benefit of his Majesty's Royal Proclamation.

The Governor kept the Ships and Vessels in sailing Order some Time, in Hopes *Moody* might have come off the Bar again; but being informed by the *Minerva* he was sailed for *Providence*, he discharged them, giving the small Booty taken to the Men who were the Captors, as he had promised them.

Your Account of the taking of *Bonnet* is pretty just, which was done by Governor *Johnson*'s Direction and Commission also.





Of Captain *Martel*.

To Captain Johnson.

SIR,

Though I can contribute nothing to your Second Volume of *Pyrates* you have (as I hear) in Hand, yet, by your Character of Veracity, I perswade my self I shall oblige you, in rectifying a Mistake you made in your first. In the Life of Captain *Martel* you say, the *Greyhound* Galley of *London*, which I then commanded, fell into the Hands of that Pyrate, who plunder'd her of some Gold Dust, Elephants Teeth, and 40 Slaves. The latter Part of this is just, except the Elephants Teeth, of which I lost, I think, none; but you are misled in the former, for *Martel's* Company had deposed him, on Account, as they themselves told me, of his Cruelty; had given him, and those who were willing to follow his Fortunes, a Sloop, and, sending him away, chose a more righteous in his Place, whose Name was *Kennedy*, by Descent an *Irishman*, by Birth a *Spaniard* of *Cuba*, and a Hunter. On my coming on Board the Pyrate, Captain *Saunders* of the *Weymouth*, who was taken the Day before, was the first Man who spoke to me, telling me, he was sorry for my Misfortune. I took him for the Commander of the Pyrate; but I soon found my Mistake, by his carrying me aft to the Captain, who bid me welcome, and drank to me in a Can of Wine; and some of the Crew told me, that it was happy for me I did not fall into the Hands of their late Captain; for a Ship with *Madera* Wine thought fit to give them the Trouble to lose some Time, and fire a couple of Chase-Guns before she shorten'd Sail, which Captain *Martel* took for so great an Affront, that all the Company was cut off. But I shall now give you the Particulars of my being taken. As I have said, I commanded the *Greyhound* Galley, on board of which I had 250 Slaves, bound from the Coast of *Guiney* to *Jamaica*, and consign'd to Messieurs *Feak* and *Aldcroft*, on Account of Mr. *Bignell* and others. On the 16th of *October* 1716, about 10 Leagues S. S. W. from the Island of *Monna*, in the grey of the Morning, my second Mate came down and acquainted me, that a Ship was almost on board us. We then steer'd about W. half South, and the Pyrate stood to the S. E. His

coming very near us made us edge away from him, and call out to desire he would keep his Luff, or he would be on board us. No Answer was given, and not a Soul appear'd on his Decks, but the Man at the Helm, and about two more; however the *Greyhound* got clear, and crowded, as usual, for a Market. As soon as the Pyrate got into our Wake, she wore, and made all the Sail she could, by which Means she soon came up with us (for she was clean, and we foul) and clewing up her Sprit-Sail, fir'd a Gun with Shot, and at the same Time let fly her Jack, Ensign and Pendant, in which was the Figure of a Man, with a Sword in his Hand, and an Hour-Glass before him, with a Death's Head and Bones. In the Jack and Pendant were only the Head and Cross Bones. I did not think fit to shorten Sail, which occasioned a second Shot from the Pyrate, which went through our Main Top-Sail. Upon this I consulted my Officers, and they advised the shortning Sail, as we were no Way in a Capacity to make any Defence. I followed their Advice, and was order'd on board the Pyrate, who ask'd me, pretty civilly, the usual Questions, Whence I came? Whether bound? &c. My second Mate, and some of my Men, were soon shifted into the Pyrate, with 40 of the best Men Slaves; the Women Slaves they diverted themselves with, and took off the Irons from all the Negroes I had on board. The Captain asked me if I had no Gold? I assured him I had not; and, indeed, I had no more than 100 Ounces, which, before I went on board the Pyrate, my Carpenter had let into the Ceiling of the great Cabbin. He answer'd only, it was very strange that I should take no Gold on the Coast. I answer'd, I had taken a considerable Quantity, but as I took it in one Place, I parted with it in another; which, if he would inspect my Books, he would find exactly as I said. We had no more Discourse then on the Subject, but a while after, I and my Mate were sent for into the great Cabbin, where the Council sat. Immediately cock'd Pistols were clapp'd to our Breasts, and we were threaten'd with Death, in Case we did not confess what Gold we had on board, and where it was hid. I deny'd that we had any, and desir'd he would satisfy himself of the Truth, by examining my Books. The Mate answer'd, he knew nothing of my Dealings on the Coasts, and therefore could give no Answer. He knew, indeed, I had received Gold on the Coast, as he had seen it brought on board; but he had seen a considerable Quantity carry'd out of the Ship. Upon this, we were order'd to withdraw, and nothing more was said; but I hearing their Design was to torture me with lighted Matches between my Fingers, I thought the Loss of the Use of my Hands would be but poorly compensated with the saving 100 Ounces of Gold, and therefore desired to speak to the Captain himself; to him I discover'd what I had, and where it was concealed. He immediately sent his Boat on board the *Greyhound*, with my Carpenter and half a dozen of his own Crew, who were so impatient to be at the

Gold, they made a meer Pincushion of the Fellow's Breech, continually pricking his Backside with their Swords, to hasten him. My Lodging was in the Hold, where one *Taffier*, the Gunner, came down to me, and snapp'd a Pistol at my Breast, which he fired afterwards upon Deck; and the same Man one Day, as I was on the Quarter-Deck, struck me, in the Presence of his Captain, with his Cutlass, after having reproach'd me with my private Confession, and asking, if every Man there had not as good and just Pretension to the Gold as the Captain. Whether it was by Accident or Design that he struck with the Flat of his Cutlass, I know not, but the Blow knock'd me down, and depriv'd me of my Senses for some Time.

Captain *Kennedy*, who seem'd to have more Humanity than is commonly found in Men of his Profession, resented this Treatment of me so far, that he got into his Yawl, and put off from the Ship, swearing he would not sail with Men who so barbarously abused their Prisoners. He, however, returned on board at their Perswasions, and on their Promise, that nothing like it should happen for the future. The Night of the Day in which we were taken, the Pyrate came to an Anchor under the Island of *Savona*, where he kept us till the 20th, and then let us go in Company with Captain *Saunders*, of the Ship *Weymouth*, from *Boston*, laden with Fish and Lumber for *Jamaica*, at which Island we arrived and anchor'd at *Port Royal* the 25th in the Morning.

The Pyrate, a little before I was taken, had met with two interloping *Dutch* Men, supposed to be bound for the Main, who gave him a rough Entertainment, and made him glad to sheer off.

The *Weymouth* had two Women Passengers on board; how they pass'd their Time I need not say; though, I fancy, as they had formerly made a Trip or two to the Bay, there was no Rape committed.

Notwithstanding the melancholy Situation I was in, I could not refrain laughing when I saw the Fellows who went on board the *Greyhound*, return to their own Ship; for they had, in rummaging my Cabbin, met with a Leather Powder Bag and Puff, with which they had powder'd themselves from Head to Foot, walk'd the Decks with their Hats under their Arms, minced their Oaths, and affected all the Airs of a Beau, with an Aukwardness would have forced a Smile from a Cynick.

When I was permitted to return on board the *Greyhound*, and prosecute my Voyage, I found all my Papers torn, and every Thing turn'd topsy-turvy; but this was nothing to their leaving all my Negroes out of Irons, of whom I was more in fear than I had been of the Pyrates; for, among them, the Captain's Humanity protected us; but we could expect no Quarter from the Negroes should they rebel; and, in such Case, we had no Prospect of quelling them, for the Pyrates

had taken away all our Arms, and by opening a Cask of Knives, which they had scatter'd about the Ship, they had armed the Negroes, one of whom had the Insolence to collar and shake one of my Men. I therefore called my People aft, and told them, our Security depended altogether on our Resolution; wherefore arming selves with Handspikes, we drove the Negroes into the Hold, and afterwards calling them up one by one, we put on their Irons, which the Pyrates had not taken with them, took away their Knives, and, by these Means, arrived safely at our Port. If this Detail is of any Service to you, I have my Ends. I hope, if you intend a third Volume, it may induce others who have had the same Misfortune of falling into the Hands of Pyrates, to assist you with their Minutes.

I am,
SIR,
Your very humble Servant,
J. EVANS.

Feb. 2.
1727-8.

P.S. Four of my Men took on with the Pyrates, though I remember the Names of two only, *Bryant Ryley, John Hammond.*





The TRIAL of the PYRATES
at Providence.

To Captain Johnson.

SIR,

As I am credibly informed you intend to oblige the Publick with a Second Volume of *The Lives and Actions of the Pyrates*, and are now actually collecting Matter; I was of Opinion, that the sending you some Minutes I have by me, which are authentick, would be no unacceptable Office; and I hope, the Gentleman who was then Governor of the *Bahama Islands*, will not take the Publication of the following Tryals in ill Part, for I am informed he is in Town. Before I would send them to you, I examined very thoroughly whether he could have any Ground to be offended; but, as I find them Marks of his Prudence and Resolution, and that in the Condemnation and Execution of the Pyrates, he had a just Regard to the publick Good, and was not to be deterr'd from vigorously pursuing it, in Circumstances which would have intimidated many brave Men: I think the Publication will do him both Honour and Justice, and therefore shall make no Apology, but come to the Point.

Trial and Condemnation of the Pyrates, who were executed at *Providence*, His Excellency *Woodes Rogers*, Esq; being then Captain General, Governor, and Vice-Admiral of the *Bahama Islands*.

At a private Consultation, held on *Friday* the 28th of *November*, 1718, at the *Secretary's* Office in the City of *Nassau*.

New Providence ss.

The Governor acquainting us, That Captain Cockrem and Captain Hornigold

have, by Virtue of a Commission, issued and directed to them for the apprehending of certain Pyrates, had the Success to bring ten of them Prisoners to this Part, who were now confined by an especial Mittimus on board the Ship Delicia; therefore, desired we might agree to join in one Opinion concerning the said Prisoners which being maturely debated and considered, and that as the necessary Guards set on the Prisoners for Want of a Goal, very much fatigued both the Soldiers and Seamen, who equally guarded the Fort and Ship; and as many as could be spar'd, daily work'd on the Fortifications, and did the Duty of Centinels at Night, thereby harrassing our small Numbers of Men, and hindering the publick Work. And there being suspected Persons still remaining in these Islands, who may give frequent Intelligence of our Condition; should any Fear be shewn on our Part, it might animate several now here, to invite the Pyrates without, to attempt the Rescue of these in Custody: Therefore, we do believe it most for the publick Good, when the Fort is in a better State of Defence, and Captain Beauchamps and Burgis, with about 60 Soldiers and Seamen, at this time gone to prevent the Designs of Vane the Pyrate, are returned to strengthen us: The Governor ought then as soon as possible (notwithstanding he has made known to us, that he has no direct Commission for Trial of Pyrates; yet according to the Intent and Meaning of the sixth Article of the Governor's Instructions, which, in this Case, refers to the fourth Article in those given to the Governor of Jamaica, a Copy of whose Instructions he has for his Directions to govern himself by, as near as the Circumstances of the Place will admit. This corroborated with the Power in the Governor's Commission of Governor, Captain General, and Vice-Admiral of the Bahama Islands, shew the Intention of his Majesty, for such Authority here; and having an Account that the Proprietary Government of Carolina had executed 22 Pyrates, lately carried in there, which together with the provoking ill Example and Behaviour of these Prisoners, who have all accepted his Majesty's Act of Grace, and afterwards turned Pyrates again, and considering it would be a great Risque and Trouble to send so many to Great Britain, and much greater to keep them Prisoners here; we are entirely of Opinion, his Majesty will approve of the Necessity for the Governor's judicial Proceeding with these Pyrates, by a Trial in the best Manner we can according to Law; and do verily believe the speediest Execution for those who shall be found guilty, will conduce most to the Welfare of this Government.

N. B. Thus this stands in the Council-Book, the Governor's Secretary is answerable for Want of Connexion, or the Secretary of the Islands; for I cannot find what these Words can refer to, *the Governor ought then as soon as possible, what ought he?* But may be, it is an Error in my Friend, who himself brought

over this Copy, written in his own Hand, which with the following, I found among his Papers after his Decease.

His Excellency *Woodes Rogers*, Esq; Captain-General,
Governor, and Vice-Admiral of the *Bahama Islands*.

To *William Fairfax*, Esq; Captain *Robert Beauchamps*, *Tho. Walker*, Esq;
Capt. *Wingate Gale*, *Nathaniel Taylor*, Esq; Capt. *Josias Burgiss*, and Capt.
Peter Courant.

Providence, ss.

‘By Virtue of a Commission from his most sacred Majesty King *George*, King of *Great-Britain*, &c. to be Governor, &c. of these Islands, thereby empowering me to authorize, commissionate, and constitute all Judges, Justices and Magistrates in these Islands, &c. as also by Virtue of my Commission, to be Vice-Admiral of these Islands, have Power and Authority to authorize and empower, constitute and commissionate, proper Judges and Commissioners, for the trying, determining, adjudging, and condemning, of all or any Pyrate or Pyrates taken, apprehended, and brought into this Government; and in Confidence of the Loyalty, Prudence, and Integrity of you the aforesaid *William Fairfax*, Esq; Captain *Robert Beauchamps*, *Thomas Walker*, Esq; Captain *Wingate Gale*, *Nathaniel Taylor*, Esq; Captain *Josias Burgiss*, and Captain *Peter Courant*, I do by Virtue of these Presents, authorize, commissionate, and appoint you Deputy, Judges, and Commissioners of the said Especial Court, by these Presents erected and appointed to be, and set in the City of *Nassau*, on *Tuesday* the 9th of this Instant, to examine, hear, try, judge, determine, and condemn, all such Pyrate or Pyrates who are now in Custody, and to be brought before the said Court, to be tryed for the Offences of Piracy by them lately committed in and about these Islands, and to proceed as my Assistants, and as Commissioners aforesaid, according to the Laws of *England*, and Rules of the said Court in such Cases; and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient Commission and Authority.

Given under my Hand and Seal at *Nassau*, this fifth Day of *December*, Anno Regni quinto Georgii Regis Magnæ Britanniae, &c. Annoq; Domini, 1718.

WOODES ROGERS.’

New Providence, ss. Chief of the *Bahama Islands*.

At an especial Admiralty Sessions, held in his Majesty’s Guard-Room in the City of *Nassau*, on *Tuesday* the 9th, and *Wednesday* the 10th of *December*, 1718.

Before his Excellency *Woods Rogers*, Esq; Governor, and Vice-Admiral, &c.

Will. Fairfax, Esq; Judge of the Admiralty.
Robert Beauchamp, Esq;
Thomas Walker, Esq;
Captain Wingate Gale.
Nathaniel Taylor, Esq;
Captain Josias Burgiss.
Captain Peter Courant.

Proclamation being made as usual, the Register opened and read the Governor's especial Commission, for erecting this Court according to the Intent and Meaning of a late Act of Parliament, Entitled, *An Act for the more effectual Suppression of Piracy*, by Virtue of which said Commission, the seven afore-named Commissioners are appointed Assistant Judges, for the hearing, trying, judging, and condemning the several Persons now in Custody, who stand committed for Mutiny, Felony, and Piracy.

Proclamation being again made, that all Persons concern'd or summon'd, and required to appear at this Court, do give their due Attendance.

Ordered, That the Prisoners be brought to the Bar, which being done, they were called by their respective Names, viz. *John Augur, Will. Cunningham, John Hipps, Dennis Mackarthy, George Rounsivel, Will. Dowling, Will. Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, and Will. Ling.*

Ordered, That the afore-named Prisoners, now at the Bar, do all hold up their Hands.

Ordered, That the Accusation against the Prisoners be read, which was as follows.

New Providence, ss.

The Articles and Accusations against *John Augur*, late Master of the Sloop *Mary*, of *Providence*; *William Cunningham*, Gunner and Mariner, on board the Schooner, called the *Batchelors Adventure*; *Henry White*, Master, *John Hipps*, Boatswain and Mariner, on board the Sloop *Lancaster*; *William Greenaway*, Master, *Dennis Mackarthy*, Mariner, on board the Scooner, *William Dowling*, Mariner, on board the said Scooner; *William Lewis*, Mariner, on board the Sloop *Mary*; *Tho. Morris*, Mariner, on board the said Scooner; *George Bendall*, Mariner, on board the said Sloop *Lancaster*, and *William Ling*, Mariner, on board the said Scooner.

You the said *John Augur, Will. Cunningham, John Hipps, Dennis Mackarthy, George Rounsivel, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George*

Bendall, and *William Ling*, having all of you lately received the Benefit of his Majesty's most gracious Pardon, for your former Offences and Acts of Robbery and Piracy, and having since taken the Oaths of Allegiance to his most sacred Majesty King *George*, and thereupon Trust has been reposed in you the said *John Augur*, and in the others of you, lawful Employments been bestow'd to divert you all from your former and unlawful Courses of Life, and to enable and support you all in just and lawful Ways of Living; and you not having the Fear of God before your Eyes, nor any Regard to your Oaths of Allegiance taken to your Sovereign, nor to the Performance of Loyalty, Truth, and Justice: But, being instigated and deluded by the Devil, to return to your former unlawful evil Courses, of Robbery and Piracy, and that you *John Augur*, *Will. Cunningham*, *John Hipps*, *Dennis Mackarthy*, *George Rounsivel*, *Will. Dowling*, *Will. Lewis*, *Tho. Morris*, *Geo. Bendall*, and *Will. Ling*, late Master and Mariners aforesaid, did on the 6th Day of *October* last, about Seven in that Evening, in the 5th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *George*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, &c. plot and combine together, at a desolate Island, called *Green Key*, within the Jurisdiction of this Vice-Admiralty, to mutiny and feloniously and pyratically steal, take, and carry away, from the Commanders and Owners of the afore-named Vessels, the said Sloops and Cargoes, Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, to the Value of above 900 l. current Money of these Islands, and by Force cause to be put ashore on the said desolate Island, one Mr. *James Kerr*, Merchant, and sundry others with him; and the said *John Augur*, as then Commander of one of the said Sloops, did proceed as Commander of the said Pyrates from the said Island of *Green Key* to *Exuma*, whereby, by Virtue of a Commission, directed to Captain *John Cockrem* and Captain *Benjamin Hornigold*, you the said *John Augur*, and the rest of your pyratical Company, were there taken and apprehended as Pyrates, and thereupon brought into this Port, to be proceeded against according to Law.

The Prisoners holding up their Hands, and the Accusation being read, all the said Prisoners were asked by the Register, Whether Guilty, or, Not Guilty; and they pleaded Not Guilty.

Ordered, That the Evidence for the King be severally sworn and examined.

James Kerr.

The Examination of *James Kerr*, Gent. upon Oath saith, That he being Supercargo in Trust, and outward bound from *Providence*, a trading Voyage in the Sloop *Mary*, and in about two Days Sail from the said Island, did arrive at

Green Key with two other Vessels in Company, bound also on the said trading Account, where, on the 6th of *October* last, one *Phineas Bunce*, one of the said Vessel's Company, and the head Mutineer of the Pyrates now at the Bar, but since deceas'd, did then and there come on board the said Sloop *Mary*, and very vilely treat this Deponent, and in the Evening did turn the Deponent ashore upon the said *Green Key*, a desolate Island; and this Deponent farther saith, that *Dennis Mackarthy*, one of the Prisoners now at the Bar, was the only Person of all the said Pyrates and Mutineers who shew'd this Deponent any civil Treatment, and that the said *Mackarthy* did not reflect on the King and Government as others of them now at the Bar did, in this Deponent's Hearing.

Wm. Greenaway.

The Examination of Captain *William Greenaway* upon Oath saith, That on the 6th of *October* last *John Hipps*, one of the Prisoners now at the Bar, with some others of them, came on board the Vessel under this Deponent's Command, and then riding at *Green Key*, with Pretensions of getting Tobacco, and told this Deponent, that Mr. *Kerr* had a Mind to sail that Night; and this Deponent having order'd his Boat to go on board the Scooner, then belonging to the said Company, to give them Notice of the said *Kerr's* Design; in which Interim came on board *John Augur* and *George Rounsivel*, both Prisoners now at the Bar, *James Matthews* and *John Johnson*, who wanted this Deponent to go on board the Scooner, which he did, where *Phineas Bunce*, since dead, met this Deponent at the Side; upon which, this Deponent demanded of the said *Bunce*, the Reason he did not prepare for sailing, as the rest did. Whereupon *Bunce*, the head Mutineer, asked this Deponent to walk down into the Cabbin, and, when there, *Bunce* asked him to sit down by him; whereupon the said *Bunce* told this Deponent, he was his Prisoner; upon which, *Dennis Macarthey*, now Prisoner at the Bar, presented a Pistol at this Deponent's Breast, and told him, if he spoke a Word, he, this Deponent, was a dead Man; and the said *Phineas Bunce* told this Deponent, he had best be easy, for that the better Part of the People belonging to the Sloop *Mary* was on his Side, as were some of the People he had with him. And then the said *Phineas Bunce*, with others, the Mutineers, went on board the Sloop *Mary*, and took her. But this Deponent cannot particularize the Names of the Men who were with *Bunce*, being Night-time. Afterwards the said *Bunce*, and the Prisoners now at the Bar, except *John Hipps*, put Mr. *James Kerr*, *Richard Turnly*, *Thomas Rich*, *John Taylor*, and *John Cox*, all ashore at *Green Key*, a desolate Island, and had the Boat ready prepared to carry this Deponent

ashore also; but *Bunce* hereupon declared, that this Deponent, being a *Bermudian*, would swim aboard again, and therefore confin'd this Deponent a Prisoner, and plundered his Vessel, leaving him not wherewithal to proceed any where, but a small Quantity of Flower and Beef, obliging this Deponent not to sail from *Green Key* in 24 Hours after his Departure; but this Deponent did sail the next Morning for *Providence*, and, in his Way, fell in Sight of the said Mutineers and Pyrates, of whom the Prisoners at the Bar were some, who gave Chase. Whereupon this Deponent went back to *Green Key*, and took to the Shore, where he saw the Pyrates and said Mutineers cut away the Mast of this Deponent's Vessel, and then were coming on Shore, as this Deponent apprehended, to take his Person. Whereupon this Deponent made his Escape to hide himself from them upon the said *Key*. Then the People who were left on board this Deponent's Vessel, coming ashore, told this Deponent, that the Pyrates had scuttled her, turn'd the Yawl adrift, and from *Green Key* the said Pyrates proceeded to *Stocking Island*, where meeting the *Spaniards*, the Pyrates were themselves taken, and put ashore.

John Taylor.

The Examination of *John Taylor* upon Oath saith, That all the Prisoners at the Bar, except *John Hipps*, did join with *Bunce*, the Mutineer; and that *Bunce* and two more, whom the Deponent knew not, being Night, took the Vessel he belong'd to; and further saith, That *John Hipps* was at first confined with the said *Greenaway* by *Bunce*.

Richard Turnly.

The Examination of *Richard Turnly* upon Oath saith, That on the 6th of *October* last, *Bunce* the head Mutineer and two others, naming *William Dowling* and *Thomas Morris*, Prisoners at the Bar, did come on board the Sloop *Mary* at *Green Key*, and ask'd Mr. *Kerr* and this Deponent for a Bottle of Beer, which was given them, and afterwards a Second, and they commanded a third; and then with the Men, belonging to the said Sloop *Mary*, took up Arms, and took Mr. *Kerr*, *Thomas Cox*, and this Deponent Prisoners, and forced them to go on Shore at *Green Key*, a desolate Island, about 25 Leagues distant from *Providence*.

John Cox

JOHN COX.

The Examination of *John Cox* upon Oath saith, That he being on board the Sloop *Mary*, of which *John Augur* went out of *Providence* Master: The said *John Augur* came on board his said Sloop in the Evening of the 6th Day of *October* last, and lay down as if he designed to sleep. Soon after, Capt. *Greenaway*, Master of the Sloop *Lancaster*, came on board, and ask'd the said *Augur*, if he intended to set Sail? He answer'd, he could not tell; thereupon Captain *Greenaway* went on board the Scooner, call'd the *Batchelor's Adventure*, *Henry White*, Master, and in about half an Hour afterwards, came on board another Boat with *John Hipps*, *Greenaway's* Boatswain, to enquire for Captain *Greenaway*; and in a little Time after, *Phineas Bunce* came on board the Sloop *Mary* from the Scooner with 2 or 3 Men more. *Bunce* ask'd for Captain *Augur*, and whether they had any Thing to drink, and coming to Mr. *Kerr*, ask'd him for a Bottle of Beer, which Mr. *Kerr* gave him; then the said *Bunce* went into the Cabbin, and brought up a Cutlash, and stood at the Cabbin-Door to drink, and swore that he was Captain of that Vessel, and would be so, which made Captain *Augur* ask him his Meaning; but presently the said *Bunce* and *Augur* seem'd to be good Friends, and *Bunce* ask'd for another Bottle of Beer, then struck Mr. *Kerr* with a Cutlash on his Back, and turn'd him and others ashore; and this Deponent well knew all the several Prisoners at the Bar, except *Hipps* the Boatswain, and that all the rest were Aiders, Assistants, and Abettors to the Mutiny, Felony, and Piracy, committed upon the Vessels and Cargoes at *Green Key*.

Thomas Rich.

The Examination of *Thomas Rich* upon Oath saith, That he knows the several Prisoners at the Bar; and that they all, except *Hipps*, were the Actors of the Mutiny and Piracy, committed upon the Vessels and Cargoes at *Green Key*; and this Deponent was taken by them in the *Mary* Sloop, and put ashore with Mr. *Kerr* and the other Evidences for the King.

Thomas Petty.

The Examination of *Thomas Petty* upon Oath saith, That he saw *Hipps* beat by *Bunce*, and believes he was forced to go with him; and that *Bunce* would have

forc'd this Deponent also; but *Dennis Mackarthy*, Prisoner at the Bar, said if *Bunce* forc'd the Deponent, he the said Prisoner would leave *Bunce* and his Company.

And then the Court adjourn'd till 3 a-Clock in the Afternoon.

The Court being met according to Adjournment, and all the Evidences for the King being called and examined, then the Prisoners at the Bar were severally called, to know what Defence each had to make, viz.

John Augur.

John Augur being first called to make Defence for himself, saith no other than that he was in Liquor, and knew not of *Phineas Bunce* his Design, when the said *Bunce* enter'd on board the Sloop *Mary*, whereof the Prisoner was Master; but could call no Evidence to prove himself not guilty.

Wm. Cunningham.

William Cunningham being next called and examined said, That he was asleep when *Bunce* went on board the *Scooner* (to which the Prisoner belong'd) at *Green Key*, and that *Bunce* brought the said Prisoner Punch, and told him, that he the Prisoner must either join him the said *Bunce*, or be put upon a *Moroon Key*, *alias* a desolate Key.

John Hipps.

John Hipps, Prisoner, said in his Defence, that he did not in any wise enter with *Bunce* and his Company; but went on board the aforesaid *Scooner*, to enquire for *William Greenaway* his Captain, where he was immediately confined by *Bunce*, together with *Greenaway*, and afterwards put on Shore with Mr. *Kerr* and others, where *Bunce* beat the said Prisoner, and compell'd him at length to join *Bunce*, but nevertheless declared his Intention to leave the said *Bunce* and Company on the first Opportunity, and desired Mr. *Kerr*, Captain *Greenaway*, *Richard Turnly*, *Thomas Terrell*, *Benjamin Hutchins*, *John Taylor*, *John Janson*, *Thomas Petty* and *David Meredith*, might be examin'd for him.

Mr. *James Kerr* being sworn as Evidence for the Prisoner declared, That *Bunce* used much threatenng Language against *John Hipps*, Prisoner, that if he did not join him the said *Bunce* and pyratcal Company, and go with them into a Boat, provided on Purpose to carry the Pyrates to their Rendezvous, *Hipps* should repent the Refusal; and farther says, that he saw or knew of no Blows given to compel the Prisoner to assist or join the said Pyrates, but that the Prisoner afterwards accepted the Office and Command of Boatswain to the said pyratcal Company.

Captain *Greenaway* being sworn for the Prisoner says, that the Prisoner went with him on board the *Scooner*, and was in the Cabbin with him, and made Prisoner with him on board the said *Scooner*, where the Prisoner made Proposal to the Deponent to surprize *Dennis Mackarthy*, Prisoner at the Bar, then a Centinel upon Deck, and throw the said *Mackarthy* over-board; but the Deponent seeing no Probability of escaping the Rest, advised the Prisoner to keep his Mind to himself, till he could have a better Opportunity; and farther saith, that the Prisoner was put ashore with Mr. *Kerr*, &c.

Richard Turnly being sworn for the Prisoner deposed, That to the best of his Knowledge and Remembrance, the Prisoner was forc'd to accept of any Duty the said *Bunce* and Company put upon him, if the Command of Words be allowed by the Court sufficient to excuse him; but he never saw *Bunce*, or any of the rest of the Pyrates, use Blows to force him to join them.

Thomas Terrell, Inhabitant, being sworn, gave the Prisoner the Character of being an honest Man, who was recommended to him by *Thomas Bowling*, Master of the Sloop *Sarah*, belonging to the said *Thomas Terrell*, that during a late Voyage perform'd to *Cuba*, about two Months ago, there was a Mutiny suspected by *Thomas Bowling*, of which the said *Bowling* declared, that *John Hipps* Prisoner, was not only innocent, but believed a Suppressor of the said Mutiny; and farther declares, that *Thomas Bowling* had acknowledged the Safety of the Vessel to be much owing to *John Hipps*, Prisoner at the Bar.

Benjamin Hutchins being sworn for the Prisoner, and examined, declared, that the Prisoner after having been matriculated and seduced by *Bunce* and his Accomplices, often complain'd to him the Deponent, that he would desert them the first Opportunity, and shew'd his Intentions by many Tears shed, as Tokens of Sorrow for his late Misfortune.

John Taylor being examined upon Oath declared, that the Prisoner was confined as a Person not trusted by *Bunce* and his pyratcal Company.

John Jansen being examined upon Oath, had nothing to declare for or against the Prisoner worth Notice.

Thomas Petty being sworn for the Prisoner declared, that *Bunce* threatned the

Prisoner, that if he would not consent to be of his pyratival Company, he should be frequently beat; and also be put on the first *Moroon Key*, where he might not find Provision, Water, or any other Sustenance, which the Deponent thinks compell'd the Prisoner to proceed with *Bunce* for his Safety.

David Meredith being also examined upon Oath declared, That when *Phineas Bunce* first made Seizure of the Vessel, he particularly spoke to *Hipps* the Prisoner, that if he would not take on in their Way, he the said *Bunce* would moroon him, upon some desolate Key or Island; and the more to compel him, gave him several Blows with his Cutlash, and thinks the Prisoner was forced to join with *Bunce*, &c.

Dennis Mackarthy.

Dennis Mackarthy Prisoner being next called, and desiring that Mr. *Kerr*, Captain *Greenaway*, *John Taylor*, *Thomas Rich*, and *Thomas Petty*, might be admitted to give Evidence for him.

Mr. *Kerr* being examined upon Oath declared, That *Mackarthy*, Prisoner, was as active as any other of the Prisoners in their pyratival Designs, and has nothing more to speak in his Favour, than that the Prisoner treated him and all others that were of the Deponent's Company, with more Civility than any others of the pyratival Crew did.

Captain *Greenaway* being sworn for the Prisoner declared, That when *Bunce* beat the said Deponent, the Prisoner said, that he would see who ought to be Strikers amongst them for the future.

John Taylor being examined upon Oath declares, that the Prisoner should say, that he would leave *Bunce* and his Accomplices.

Thomas Rich being sworn declares, that he heard the Prisoner say, that since he had begun, he thought himself obliged to go on with them, meaning *Bunce* and his pyratival Company.

Thomas Petty being also sworn declares, That after *Mackarthy* had been an Accomplice of *Bunce's* Piracy, he heard the Prisoner say, he was sorry for his Unadvisedness, which might bring great Troubles on his poor Wife, having a small Child.

George Rounsivel.

George Rounsivel, Prisoner, being next called, desired *Turnly* to be Evidence for

him; who being sworn, declared, That *Geo. Rounsivel*, after having consented to be of *Bunce's* pyratival Company, shew'd some Token of Sorrow, but withal said, that as he had begun, could not without Danger of Life, desert the Pyrates he had combined with.

Wm. Dowling.

William Dowling, Prisoner, being next called, and desiring *Thomas Petty* to be Evidence for him, he was sworn, and said, that he had very little to say for him, because he had seen the Prisoner as consenting to their pyratival Designs as any of the said Prisoners.

William Lewis.

William Lewis, Prisoner, being next called, had very little to say for himself, otherwise than that one *David Meredith* had heard him say, he wished to be at *John Cullemore's* House to drink a Bottle of Beer, which *David Meredith*, being sworn as Evidence for the Prisoner, only confirmed.

Thomas Morris.

Thomas Morris, Prisoner, being next called, had very little else to say, than that he had the Fever and Ague when he was first commanded by *Bunce* to join them, and desiring *Thomas Rich* as Evidence, he was sworn, and declared, that the Prisoner, as much as he took Notice of him, appeared as active as the most capable, and could not say, that the Prisoner ever relented.

George Bendall.

George Bendall, Prisoner, being next called, and desiring *Richard Turnly* for Evidence, he was sworn, and declared, that the Prisoner was desired to make his Escape, but was resolved to continue with the Pyrates.

William Ling.

William Ling, Prisoner, being next called, who having nothing to say farther, than a Request that *Richard Turnly* might give in Evidence for him; he was sworn, and declared, that the Prisoner bore Arms, and was as resolved as any of the Pyrates.

Then the Court adjourned till Ten a-Clock next Morning, being the 10th Instant.

December 10, 1718.

The Court having met according to the Adjournment, and Proclamation made, the Prisoners were again brought to the Bar, and severally ask'd, if they had considered of any farther Evidence or Defence they could propose.

First, *John Augur* had no more to offer, in his Justification than before.

The second, *William Cunningham*, the same as before.

The Third, *John Hipps* having the same Question put, answer'd, that if *John Raddon* and *Henry White* had not been absent, they could have declared many Things in his Favour.

Then the Court proposed to every Person, who was an Auditor of the Trial, that any might have Leave to declare upon Oath, any Thing they had heard *John Raddon* or *Henry White* say in Behalf of *John Hipps*, Prisoner: Upon which, *Samuel Lawford*, Constable, appear'd, and being sworn, declared, That he heard *George Raddon* say, that he should have been glad to have done the old Boatswain any Service, meaning *Hipps*, the Prisoner at the Bar; for the said *Raddon* had seen him cry for his having consented, tho' by Force, to join *Bunce*, &c. the Prisoner having also declared to *Raddon*, that he would fight each of the Pyrates singly, if he could by that Means get clear of them. This Deponent farther said, that *Raddon* told him, he firmly believed the Prisoner at the Bar would have escaped from the other Pyrates, as soon as he could have got an Opportunity.

The Fourth, *Dennis Mackarthy*, Prisoner, made some faint Excuse, and at length desired Captain *Benjamin Hornigold*, as farther Evidence for him; who being sworn, declared, That when he the said *Hornigold* went to apprehend the Prisoners, who were on one of the *Exuma* Keys, he the said Prisoner was one of the first taken, and seem'd to the said *Hornigold* to throw himself, and to have Dependance, on the Mercy of the Governor.

The Fifth, *George Rounsivel*, Prisoner, had no farther Plea to make.

The Sixth, *William Dowling*, Prisoner, only desired *Thomas Petty* to be again call'd, who being sworn, only declared, That he the Prisoner had Offers made by the *Spaniards* to go in their Service, but the Prisoner refused them.

The Seventh, *William Lewis* desired *Richard Turnley* might be again called, who being sworn, declared, That he the Deponent did not see the said Prisoner when the Sloop *Mary* was first taken, but the Day after he saw the Prisoner under Arms, as active as any one of the Pyrates.

The Eighth, *Thomas Morris*, Prisoner, had little more to say than pretending that several Persons who were absent, would say something in his Justification; but no one present declared any Thing in his Favour.

The Ninth, *George Bendall*, Prisoner, had nothing to plead for himself; but desiring Mr. *Kerr* for Evidence, he was sworn, and declared, That he heard the Prisoner say, that he wish'd he had begun the Life sooner, for he thought it a pleasant One, meaning that of a Pyrate; and farther deposed, that the Prisoner reported, that he had once a strong Inclination to have smother'd *John Graves*, Esq; his Majesty's Collector for the Islands, as he lay feeble in his Bed, whose Servant the Prisoner was, but a short Time before he shipp'd himself for the intended Voyage, when he join'd the other Prisoners at the Bar in their Mutiny and Piracy.

David Meredith being also sworn, declared, That *Bunce* did once beat the Prisoner, who told him, that if *Bunce*, &c. beat him once more, he would desert them the first Opportunity.

The Tenth, *William Ling* had nothing farther to say for himself.

Then the Prisoners were remanded to the Fort; after which, all Manner of Persons were commanded by Proclamation to withdraw.

Then the Court summ'd up the Evidences for the King and the Prisoners, which being debated and considered, all the Prisoners, except *John Hipps*, were unanimously voted guilty of their Indictment, and the Register was ordered to draw up their Sentence. It was thought convenient to respite the Judgment on *John Hipps*, Prisoner, till *Monday* next; and the Court adjourn'd till Four this Afternoon, at which Time being met according to Adjournment, and Proclamation made, the Prisoners were brought to the Bar. Then *John Hipps* was remanded to the Guardship in Irons, and all the rest asked, if they knew any Cause why Sentence of Death should not be pronounced against them? They had nothing more to say, but to desire some Length of Time for Repentance.

Then the Sentence was read, as follows:

The Court having duly considered of the Evidence which hath been given both for and against you the said John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, Geo. Rounsivel, Wm Dowling, Wm Lewis, Tho. Morris, Geo.

Bendall and Wm Ling; and having also debated the several Circumstances of the Cases, it is adjudged, that you the said John Augur, Wm Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, Geo. Rounsivel, Wm Dowling, Wm Lewis, Tho. Morris, Geo. Bendall and Wm Ling, are guilty of the Mutiny, Felony, and Piracy, wherewith you and every of you stand accused. And the Court doth accordingly pass Sentence, that you the said John Augur, Wm. Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, Geo. Rounsivel, Wm. Dowling, Wm. Lewis, Tho. Morris, Geo. Bendall and Wm. Ling, be carried to Prison from whence you came, and from thence to the Place of Execution, where you are to be hanged by the Neck till you shall be dead, dead, dead; and God have Mercy on your Souls. Given under our Hands this 10th Day of October, Annoq; Dom. 1718, sign'd

*Woodes Rogers,
Wm Fairfax,
Robert Beauchamp,
Thomas Walker,
Wingate Gale,
Nathaniel Taylor,
Josias Burgiss,
Peter Courant.*

After Sentence of Death pass'd upon the Prisoners, the Governor, as President of the Court, appointed their Execution to be at Ten a-Clock on *Friday* next in the Morning being the 12th Instant.

Whereupon the Prisoners pray'd for longer Time to repent and prepare for Death; but the Governor told them, that from the Time of their being apprehended, which was on the 15th of *November*, they ought to have accounted themselves as condemn'd by the Laws of all Nations, which was only sealed now; and that the securing them hitherto, and the Favour that the Court had allowed them in making as long a Defence as they could, wholly took up that Time, which the Affairs of the Settlement required in working at the Fortifications; besides the Fatigue thereby occasion'd to the whole Garrison in the necessary Guards, set over them by the Want of a Goal, and the Garrison having been very much lessened by Death and Sickness since his Arrival; also that he was obliged to employ all his People to assist in mounting the great Guns, and in finishing the present Works, with all possible Dispatch, because of the expected War with *Spain*; and there being many more Pyrates amongst these Islands, and this Place left destitute of all Relief from any Man of War or Station Ship, much wanted, join'd to other Reasons he had, too long to enumerate in

Court, he thought himself indispensably obliged, for the Welfare of the Settlement, to give them no longer Time.

Then the Prisoners were ordered to the Place of their Imprisonment in the Fort, where Leave was given them to send for any Persons to read and pray with them.

On *Friday* Morning each of the Prisoners were call'd in private, to know if they had any Load upon their Spirits, for Actions committed as yet unknown to the World, the declaring of which was absolutely required, to prepare themselves for a fit Repentance; but they each refused to declare any Thing, as well as making known to the Governor, if they knew of any Conspiracy against the Government.

Wherefore, about Ten a-Clock, the Prisoners were releas'd of their Irons, and committed to the Charge and Care of *Thomas Robinson*, Esq; commissioned Provost Marshal for the Day, who, according to custom in such Cases, pinion'd them, &c. and order'd the Guards appointed to assist him, to lead them to the Top of the Rampart, fronting the Sea, which was well guarded by the Governor's Soldiers and People, to the Number of about 100. At the Prisoners Request, several select Prayers and Psalms were read, in which all present join'd; when the Service was ended, Orders was given to the Marshal, and he conducted the Prisoners down a Ladder, provided on Purpose, to the Foot of the Wall, where was a Gallows erected, and a black Flag hoisted thereon, and under it a Stage, supported by three Butts, on which they ascended by another Ladder, where the Hangman fasten'd the Cords. They had three Quarters of an Hour allowed under the Gallows, which was spent by them in singing of Psalms, and some Exhortations to their old Consorts, and the other Spectators, who got as near to the Foot of the Gallows as the Marshal's Guard would suffer them. When the Governor ordered the Marshal to make ready, and all the Prisoners expecting the Launch, the Governor thought fit to order *George Rounsivel* to be untied, and when brought off the Stage, the Buts having Ropes about them, were hawl'd away; upon which, the Stage fell, and the Prisoners were suspended.

A short Account of the Prisoners executed.

First, *John Augur*, being about 40 Years of Age, had been a noted Master of Vessels at *Jamaica*, and since among the Pyrates; but on his accepting of his Majesty's Act of Grace, and Recommendations to the Governor, he was, notwithstanding, entrusted with a good Vessel and Cargo, in which betraying his Trust, and knowing himself guilty of the Indictment, he all along appeared very

penitent, and neither wash'd, shav'd, or shifted his old Cloaths, when carried to be executed; and when he had a small Glass of Wine given him on the Rampart, drank it with Wishes for the good Success of the *Bahama* Islands and the Governor.

The Second, *William Cunningham*, aged 45, had been Gunner with *Thatch* the Pyrate, who being also conscious of his own Guilt, was seemingly penitent, and behaved himself as such.

The Third, *Dennis Mackarthy*, aged 28, who had also been formerly a Pyrate, but accepted of the King's Act of Grace; and the Governor had made him an Ensign of the Militia, being recommended as a sober civiliz'd Person, which Commission he had at the Time of his joining the Pyrates, which very much aggravated his other Crimes. During his Imprisonment, he behaved himself tolerably well; but when he thought he was to die, and the Morning came, without his expected Reprieve, he shifted his Cloaths, and wore long blue Ribbons at his Neck, Wrists, Knees, and Cap; and when on the Rampart, look'd cheerfully round him, saying, *He knew the Time when there were many brave Fellows on the Island, who would not have suffered him to die like a Dog*; and at the same Time pull'd off his Shooes, kicking them over the Parapet of the Fort, saying, *He had promis'd not to die with his Shooes on*; so descended the Fort Wall, and ascended the Stage, with as much Agility and in a Dress of a Prize-Fighter; when mounted, he exhorted the People, who were at the Foot of the Walls, to have Compassion on him, but, however willing, they saw too much Power over their Heads to attempt any Thing in his Favour.

The Fourth, *William Dowling*, of about 24 Years of Age, had been a considerable Time amongst the Pyrates, of a wicked Life, which his Majesty's Act of Grace did not reform; his Behaviour was very loose on the Stage, and after his Death, some of his Acquaintance declared, he had confess'd to them, that he had murder'd his Mother before he left *Ireland*.

The Fifth, *William Lewis*, aged about 34 Years, as he had been a hardy Pyrate and Prize Fighter, affected an Unconcern at Death; but heartily desired Liquors to drink with his Sufferers on the Stage, and with the Standers by.

The Sixth, *Thomas Morris*, aged about 22, had been a very incorrigible Youth and Pyrate, and seem'd to have very little Anxiety of Mind by his frequent Smiles when at the Bar, being dress'd with red Ribbons as *Mackarthy* was with blue, he said, going over the Ramparts, *We have a new Governor, but a harsh One*; and a little before he was turn'd off, said aloud, *that he might have been a greater Plague to these Islands, and now wish'd he had been so*.

The Sixth, *George Bendall*, aged about 18, tho' he said, *he had never been a Pyrate before, yet he had all the villainous Inclinations that the most profligate*

Youth could be infected with; his Behaviour was sullen.

The Eighth, *William Ling*, aged about 30, not taken Notice of before the last Attempt, behaved himself as becoming a true Penitent, and was not heard to say any other than by Reply to *Lewis*, when he demanded Wine to drink, *that Water was more suitable to them at that Time.*

It was observed that there were but few (beside the Governor's Adherents) among the Spectators, who had not deserved the same Fate, but pardon'd by his Majesty's Act of Grace.





Of Captain VANE.

We have given what Account came to our Hands of *Charles Vane* in the first Volume, beginning at the Time he left *Providence* on the Governor's Arrival; but we have since had some Particulars sent us, which relate to Pyracies, both before and after that Date.

In the latter End of *March* 1718, he, with about 12 more lewd Fellows, who had squander'd all their Money got by former Villanies, took a Canoe, and went out on the old Account. Soon after their setting out they made Prize of a Sloop belonging to *Jamaica*, brought her into *Potters Key*, where they came to an Anchor, and put all the Hands on Shore, except the Master, to whom they promis'd to return his Sloop as soon as they met with another more fit for their Purpose; which soon after happen'd, for cruising off *Harbour Island* in the beginning of *April*, they took the *Lark* Sloop, which had been taken from the Pyrates by Captain *Pierce*, in the *Phœnix* Man of War, who fitted her out with a Cargo to trade at *St. Augustin's*. He brought his Prize into *Providence* Harbour, with his black Ensign hoisted, in Defiance of the above named Man of War, which he loudly threaten'd to burn. *Vane*, at *Providence*, augmented his Number of Men to 75, sailed in search of Booty, and on the 4th of *July* return'd with a *French* Ship of 20 Guns, a *French* Brigantine laden with Sugar, Indigo, Brandy, Claret, White Wine, and other Merchandize; the *Drake* Sloop, *John Draper*, Master, which he took in his Passage from *Providence* to *Harbour Island*, and plunder'd of a considerable Sum of Money, shifting into her some Sugars out of the *French* Brigantine; the *Ulster* Sloop, *John Fredd*, Master, laden with Timber from *Andros Island*, into this Vessel he put 70 Casks of Sugar; and the *Eagle* Sloop, *Robert Brown*, Master, bound to *South-Carolina*, which he took with a two-masted Boat, commanded by *Edward England*, his Quarter Master; he put on board this last 20 Terses of Sugar, 6 of Bread, and some other Things. In the Harbour he seized on the *Lancaster* Sloop, *Neal Walker*, Master, and the *Dove* Sloop, *William Harris*, Master, designed for *Jamaica*, which he plunder'd of what he thought proper, and shifted 22 Hogsheads of Sugar, some *Spanish* Hides and old Rigging.

He had the Impudence to come ashore with his Sword in Hand, threaten to burn the principal Houses of the Town, and to make Examples of many of the People; and though he committed no Murders, his Behaviour was extreamly insolent to all who were not as great Villains as himself. He reign'd here as Governor 20 Days, stopp'd all Vessels which came in, and would suffer none to go out, being inform'd of a Governor being sent from *England*, he swore, while he was in the Harbour, he would suffer no other Governor than himself. He clean'd and fitted the *French* Ship, with Intent to visit the Coast of *Brazil*, and design'd to sail in 3 or 4 Days; but the Governor appearing on the 24th, made him change his Resolution, and think of accepting a Pardon, if it might be granted on his own Terms, as will appear by the Letter which he sent off by a Boat to the Governor, and of which the following is an exact Copy.

July the 24th, 1718.

‘**Y**our Excellency may please to understand that we are willing to accept his Majesty’s most gracious Pardon on the following Terms, viz.

‘That you will suffer us to dispose of all our Goods now in our Possession. Likewise, to act as we think fit with every Thing belonging to us, as his Majesty’s Act of Grace specifies.

‘If your Excellency shall please to comply with this, we shall, with all Readiness, accept of his Majesty’s Act of Grace. If not, we are obliged to stand on our Defence. So conclude

Your humble Servants,
Charles Vane, and Company.’

The Superscription was—

To his Excellency the Governor of New Providence.

And at the Bottom of it.—*We wait a speedy Answer.*

The Governor could not get in that Night, but was forced to keep at Sea, so that Mr. *Vane* could not so speedily have an Answer as his Excellency design’d, which he intended to carry himself. About Four that Afternoon the *Rose* Man of War and *Shark* Sloop got in, and were saluted with four Shot from *Vane*, which, however, did no other Damage than the cutting the *Rose*’s Rigging. In the Evening Captain *Whitney* sent his Lieutenant on Board *Vane*, who was higher up the Harbour in the *French* Ship. They detained this Gentleman two Hours, and the Crew, most of which was drunk, treated him, some with Threats, shewing the black Flag, and some with Contempt and Ridicule, and order’d him back to tell his Captain their Resolution was to fight it out to the last.

When Captain *Whitney* fired the eight a-Clock Gun, *Vane* did the like with Shot, directed at the *Rose*. At Ten he pointed all the Guns of the *French* Ship (double loaded) at the Man of War, and, after setting Fire to her, went with 40 Hands into a Sloop belonging to one *Yates*. As the *French* Man burnt, the Guns fired, and cut some more of the *Rose*’s Rigging. Captain *Whitney* apprehending Danger from the fir’d Ship, together with the *Shark* Sloop, cut and put out to Sea, which gave *Vane* an Opportunity he laid hold on, to take what he thought fit off Shore, and to force the best Carpenter and Pilot in the Island on Board him.

When he had done, he went to, and lay at *Potters Key* all Night, and the next Morning got under Sail.

His Excellency dispatch'd after him the *Buck Sloop* and another small one, both well mann'd and fitted, which gain'd while he was upon a Wind, and came, before he clear'd the East End of the Island, within Gun-Shot; but he easing out his Main-Sheet, and setting his Flying-Jibb, left them soon after; wherefore, Night coming on, and their Pursuit being fruitless, they return'd.

Soon after *Vane* sent the Governor of *Providence* Word, he would make him a Visit, and burn his Guardship, for sending two Sloops to chase him instead of answering his Letter.

The 30th of *August* he took the *Neptune* of 400 Tuns, and the *Emperor* of 200 Tuns, the Particulars of which are in the subjoin'd Protest.

The 9th of *September* he arrived at *Allens Key* in a *Spanish* Brigantine; he had before taken a *Spanish* Ship of the *Havanna*; here he forced on Board a Pilot, took a Sloop and went to *Green Turtle Key*.

I have only to add: This Pyrate, whose Death is set down in the first Volume, betray'd the Coward when at the Gallows, and died in Agonies equal to his Villainies, which he gave no Ground to believe proceeded from the Apprehensions of a future State, but the Fear of Death. He shew'd not the least Remorse for the Crimes of his past Life, which was taken Notice of by the Spectators of his deserved Punishment, and told me by a worthy Gentleman who saw Justice done on him at *Gallows Point* on *Port Royal*.

The Protest of Captain *King*, Commander of the *Neptune* Hagboat.

‘By this publick Instrument of Protest be it made known and manifest, that on the 30th Day of *August* 1718, *John King*, lately Commander of the *Neptune* Hagboat of *London*, but now in the Island of *Providence*, one of his Majesty's *Bahama* Islands, came before me *Woodes Rogers*, Esq; Governor, &c. and declared to me, that on the Day and Date above-written, he sailed with the said Ship *Neptune* Hagboat over the Bar of *Carolina*, in Company with three more Ships bound for *London*, viz. the *Emperor*, Captain *Arnold Powers*, Commander, and the Pink *Antamasia*, Captain *Dumford*, Commander, and the Pink, Captain *Evers*, Commander, and about two Hours after he was over the Bar of *South-Carolina*, he saw four Sail of Vessels standing some one Way, some another; but one of them being a Brigantine, gave Chase, and, in about two

Hours time, came up with his Ship with a black Flag flying, and after having fir'd several Guns, demanded him to strike, and to come on Board the Brigantine, commanded by one *Charles Vane*, a Pyrate, who detained him and four of his Men on board the said Brigantine, and sent several of his Men on board the *Neptune*; and when they came on board they commanded him to make Sail, and began to rob and rifle as they thought fit, &c. taking only the *Neptune* and *Emperor* with them; for by the Information of the Captain of the *Neptune* and *Emperor*, the other two were loaded with Pitch and Tar, which was not for their Turn, so they would not give Chace to them; but in a small Time after they had held a Consultation together, they concluded to carry the Ship *Neptune* and *Emperor*, with their Crew, to *Green Turtle Key*, on *Abaco*, so steered their Course accordingly for the said Place. About four Days after *John King*, Commander of the *Neptune* declares, he fell sick of a violent Fever on board the said *Vane's* Brigantine, and *Vane* asked him, if he would go on board his own Ship? he readily answered, Yes, if he pleased; so hoisted out his Boat, and sent him on board. And about four Days afterwards the Pyrates held a Consultation on board their own Vessel. The Captain, and most of the Officers, were for taking what they wanted out of the Ship *Neptune* and *Emperor*, and so let them go about their Business; but the rest of the Company was not willing for it, because, they said, What should they clean their Vessel by? And what Defence should they have whilst they were cleaning? So concluded to proceed on to *Green Turtle Key*, which they did, and arrived there on or about the 12th of *September* 1718, and began to make Preparations for careening their Vessels, which held about three Weeks, and at the latter End of this Time they had taken from both Ships such Things as they wanted, and then took their Leaves of the said Ships and Captains, wishing them a good Voyage home, so set Sail; but in a little Time after made a Sloop coming into the Harbour of *Green Turtle Key*, perceiving her to come towards them without any Fear, came to an Anchor again, and sent away the two Mast Boat after them with about twelve Men in her, expecting it was a Sloop from *Providence* with fifty Men, according to Promise, when they left *Providence*, but in three Hours, or thereabouts, they spoke with her, which gave them Account that they came from *Providence*; and also laying down the State and Condition of that Island, it being the expected Sloop aforesaid, out of which some of the Men entered with *Vane*, but know not how many. And likewise the said *King* farther declares, that he heard some of the Pyrates say, that Sloop had brought Ammunition and Provisions, &c. and the Commander's Name was one *Nicholas Woodall*. The said *King* asked what was the best News at *Providence*? They replied, None good: But bid him ask not many Questions, but fit up his Ship, in order to go for *England* or *Providence*; if

the latter, they would take Care to see us to *Providence*, and did believe they should go in and surrender themselves up to the King's Pardon. The next Morning, being very much disturb'd with the News that the Sloop brought from *Providence* by the said *Woodall*, they voted to Maroon Captain *Walker*, but that did not take Place, so put it to Vote again to maroon and destroy the *Neptune*, which they did with cutting away the Masts, Rigging, Sails, Beams, and firing a Gun, double loaded with Shot down her Hold, and totally disabled her from ever proceeding her Voyage home to *England*. And the said *King* does verily believe, that the said *Woodall's* Sloop coming there, was the Occasion of all the aforesaid Mischief, believing what was done was to pay him for his great Favour done them. And farther, the said Captain *King* says, that some of the Pyrates, who were his Friends, told him, that if that Sloop had not come, this Damage would not have been; and that they were very sorry for it; so by the said *Vane's* Order they went to work to load this *Woodall's* Sloop with Rice, Pitch, Tar, Deer Skins, Sails, Rigging, &c. After she was loaded, being the next Day, they all sailed together as Pyrates, taking with them one of Captain *Walker's* Sons, with his Sloop, to tend on them, and as Pilot; but before they got out of the Channel, arrived to the Ships *Neptune* and *Emperor*, a Sloop from *Providence*, sent by the Governor to hear what was the best News there, hearing that *Vane* was there. The Captains of the said Sloop, *Hornigold* and *Cockram* told the Captains *Powers* and *King*, that they were come by the Governor's Order to assist them in what they could, who accordingly did, with making Dispatch to *Providence*, to acquaint his Excellency the Governor what sad Condition they were in by the Pyrates hard Usage, leaving them without Provisions, &c. So the said Captains *Hornigold* and *Cockram* set Sail that Night, and in three or four Days after took the Sloop *Woolfe*, *Nicholas Woodall*, Master, that had traded with *Charles Vane*, the Pyrate, and carried him to his Excellency the Governor of *Providence*, who seized his Vessel, and confined him Prisoner. By that Time *Vane* came in a second time to *Green Turtle Key*, and began a second Plunder, taking from the Ships Rice, Rigging, Masts, Sails, &c. from both Ships, and told the said *King*, that if he offered to touch his Prize he would burn her, and him in her, if ever he caught him again; so sailed away the second time: And about three Weeks after arrived the said Captains *Hornigold* and *Cockram*, with five Sloops from *Providence*, sent down by the Governor, to save what Goods they could out of the *Neptune*, that was in so much Danger. The next Day they began to load the Sloops, and got them loaded in two Days, so sailed away. The said *King* came to *Providence* to consult and agree with the Governor what to do in such a Case. After some Time spent it was concluded to fit out the *Willing Mind* with Guns and Men, enough to stand an Engagement with *Vane*, and sell the *Neptune*; and,

in a few Days after, did accordingly put her up publick to Sale, and it was thus sold to one Mr. *George Hooper*, for seventy one Pounds current Money of *Jamaica*, he being the Person that bid the most Money for her. The *Willing Mind* being fitted, sailed from *Providence* the 15th of *November* 1718, and arrived at *Green Turtle Key* the 19th, and took the Goods out of the *Neptune*, being in a very bad Condition; and after they had taken out all her Cargo, finding the *Neptune* to be better than they did expect; and, having a fair Wind, brought both Ships up to *Providence*, the *Neptune* got in safe, but the *Willing Mind* struck on the Bar, and sprung a Leak, insomuch that she was forced to unload and careen, and, when down, found her to be very bad, a Piece of her main Keel being gone, so was forced to hawl her ashore; and when the Carpenters had done what could be done to her, she could not be got up again by all the Strength that could be made, and tried for several Days, breaking and tearing all to pieces, but all to no Purpose; so the Governor order'd a Warrant of Survey on her, and was found by the Surveyors not sufficient to proceed any further, being very much damaged in her Wood-Work and Iron-Work, &c. Whereupon the said *King* desired a second Survey of his Ship and Goods, they lying in a very bad Condition. Now in the Harbour of *Providence* there being no Vessels to carry them to *England*, he therefore is now going to *Carolina* to consult with Mr. *Richard Splat*, who shipp'd the Goods on board, and to know of him what further may be done with the said Goods, and that he may rightly apprize all they concern'd, of the present Condition of the Ship and Goods; he has further taken the Opinion of Captain *Thomas Walker*, Captain *Richard Thompson*, and Captain *Edward Holmes*, Persons who are well acquainted what sad Condition the Ship and Goods are now in; whereupon the said *King*, and one of the Mariners belonging to the Ship *Neptune*, did, and doth hereby protest against the said *Charles Vane*, and the rest of the Mariners, Pyrates and Robbers, belonging to the Brigantine aforesaid, and for the feloniously and pyratically taking, boarding, entering and plundering, and for sinking and disabling within the Harbour of *Green Turtle Key*, the said Ship *Neptune*, and for all Damages and Losses accruing thereby to the Owners, Freighters, or any other Persons concern'd therein. In Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our Hand and Seals this 5th Day of *February*, Anno Dom. 1718-9.

*Jurat Coram me hoc
die Decem. Februaris,
Woodes Rogers.*

John King,

× *The Mark of*
John Morrison.'



Of Captain BOWEN.

Could the Reader conceive the Pains we have been at, to collect Matters for the composing a genuine History of the Lives of the Pyrates, and the great Care we have taken to deliver nothing but the Truth, he would readily forgive, nay, would be apt to commend our placing those Particulars in the Appendix of the same Book, which we could not possibly obtain (notwithstanding our diligent Enquiries) before the Lives were printed, and the Book in a manner ready for Publication.

What we have said in the foregoing Part of this Volume, of Captain *Bowen*, may be depended on as Truth; but as we had not that Certainty of his Original we now have, we rather chose to be silent than impose on our Readers with Fables of our own Invention: We have since learn'd (and it is with Reason we can depend on our Account, having it from one who personally knew, and often convers'd with him) that he was born of creditable Parents, in the Island of *Bermudas*, who took Care to give him a good Education answerable to the Vocation he was design'd for, which was the Sea.

The first Voyage he made was to *Carolina*, where some Merchants finding him every Way capable, and that he was a sober intelligent Man, gave him the Command of a Ship, and sent him to the *West-Indies*. He continued in this Employ for several Years, but one Voyage, in his Return, he had the Misfortune to fall in with, and be taken, by a *French* Pyrate, who having no Artist on board, detain'd Captain *Bowen* to navigate their Vessel; and after cruising some Time in the *West-Indies*, shap'd their Course for the *Guiney* Coast, where they made several Prizes, and took several good Artists; but having Experience of Captain *Bowen*, he could by no Means prevail on them for a Discharge; tho' notwithstanding the Service he was to them, they treated him as roughly as they did their other Prisoners, of which I have already taken Notice in Captain *White's* Life.

They (the Pyrates) doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, steer'd for, refresh'd at *Johanna*, and having made their Voyage to the *East-Indies*, lost their Ship, as is already shewn in the above Life, (and need not be here repeated) on

Madagascar: The other Particularities which are not set down in *Bowen's* own Life, will be found in those of his Companions; as his going with Captain *Read*; the taking the *Grabb*; the coming to *Mayotta*, and from thence in the *Grabb* to *Madagascar*; the joining of that Vessel and *Fourgette's*; the taking the *Speaker*; his succeeding *Booth* in the Command, and his Death at *Mascarenas*.





OF
Capt. Nathaniel North,
And his CREW.

W e have placed this Life in the Appendix, which will not perhaps be thought a proper Place; but we could not gather the Particulars, which were collected out of several different Journals, Time enough to insert it in the Body of the Book, and therefore, thought of reserving this Life for Part of another Volume; but when we had compiled it, and found it was a Sort of Recapitulation of the Adventures of the *Madagascar* Pyrates which went before, we judged it more proper to give it in the Appendix than to separate this Gentleman from his Companions; and we were the rather induc'd to this, as the Reader will here find an Account of *Bowen's* Death, which we had not learn'd at the Time we wrote his Life; the Papers which we got after a long Search, and which has furnish'd us with some other Particulars of that Rover's Life, not being at that Time to be found.

Captain *North* was born at *Bermudas*, and was the Son of a Sawyer, which Business he himself was bred up to, but took, at last, to the Seas, at the Age of 17 or 18, shipping himself Cook on board a Sloop, built at *Bermudas*, for some Gentlemen of *Barbadoes*, with Design to fit her out for a Privateer. She was bound to her Owners, but the Master took *Santa Vdas* in the Way, and loaded with Salt. When they came to *Barbadoes* all the Crew was press'd, and *North* with his Companions were put on board the *Reserve*.

The Master applied himself to the Governor, and got all his Men clear'd, *North* excepted, who, as he was a Lad, was neglected, and left on board the Man of War, which soon after sail'd for *Jamaica*; some Time before the *Reserve* was relieved from this Station, he laid Hold of an Opportunity to run away, and shipp'd himself on board a Sugar Drover, in which Way of Life he continued

about two Years, and being an able Sailor, tho' no Artist, he was offer'd to go Master of one of these Coasters, which he refus'd, and went on board a Privateer.

The first Voyage he made, as a Privateer, they took a couple of good Prizes, which made every Man's Share very considerable; but *North*, as he had got his Money lightly, so he spent it, making the Companions of his Dangers the Companions of his Diversions, or rather joining himself with them, and following their Example; which all (who are acquainted with the Way of Life of a successful *Jamaica* Privateer) know is not an Example of the greatest Sobriety and Oeconomy.

His Money being all spent, he took the same Method for a Recruit, that is, he went a second Time a Privateering, and met with such Success, that he engag'd very heartily in this Course of Life, and made several lucky Cruizes.

Some Time after he grew tir'd, thought of trading, and shipp'd himself on board a Brigantine, bound for the *Spanish* Coast, commanded by one Captain *Reesby*: This Vessel went both on the Trading and Privateer Account, so that the Men shipp'd for half Wages, and equal Shares of what Prizes they should make, in the same Manner, as to the Shares, as on board a Privateer; their trading answer'd very poorly, and their privateering Business still worse, for they return'd without making any Prize.

They were forced to leave the *Spanish* Coast, on Account of a *Spanish Guarda la Costa*, of 40 Guns and Three hundred and fifty *Frenchmen*, commanded by a Captain of the same Nation. When they made the Island of *Jamaica*, they fell in with *Bluefields*, off which Place two *French* Privateer Sloops were cruising, one of which was formerly a Privateer of *Jamaica*, called the *Paradox*; they immediately clapp'd Capt. *Reesby* on board, taking him for a Trader, come from the *Spanish* Coast, and weakly mann'd; however, they were soon made sensible of the Mistake, for they came to fetch Wool, and one of them went away shorn; I mean *Reesby* took one of them, and the other was obliged to a good Pair of Heels for his Safety. *Reesby* lost ten Men, killed outright in the Engagement, and had seven wounded; the latter, tho' he had made but a broken Voyage, he put ashore at *Bluefields*, and ordered great Care to be taken of them, at the Owners Expence: Here he took in fresh Provision, and then beat up to *Port Royal*, where *Reesby* paid them very honourably, gave them a handsome Entertainment, and begg'd they would not leave him, as he had a very great Value for them all; but for *North* particularly, who was a good Swimmer, manag'd a Canoe, with great Dexterity, and fear'd nothing.

Upon this Desire of the Captain's, *North* and the greater Part staid ashore till Captain *Reesby* was refitted, and went a second Voyage with him to the Coast, at

seventeen Dollars a Month, and no Share; they carried 300 Negroes, beside Bale Goods; they staid four Months on the Coast, and dispos'd of all the Slaves and Goods to great Advantage. Upon their Return to *Jamaica*, after some Stay on the Island, Captain *Reesby* not going out again, *North* went once more a Privateering, and made a considerable Booty. While *North* was ashore after a Cruize, he was press'd on board the *Mary* Man of War: He made a Cruize in her to the *Spanish* Coast, and return'd to *Jamaica*; but hearing the *Mary* was soon to go to *England*, he, and three more, resolv'd to swim ashore from the Keys, where the Men of War lie, but he was taken as he was going off the Head, and whipp'd; he, however, found Means to make his Escape, before the Ship left the Island, and went on board the *Neptune* Sloop, a Privateer, commanded by Captain *Lycence*, then Lieutenant of the *Reserve*, who, while the Ship was in the Carpenter's Hands, got a Commission of the Governor to take a Cruize. Captain *Moses*, who commanded the *Reserve*, went on board their Sloop, under the Command of his Lieutenant, for Diversion only: They cruized off *Hispaniola*, where they met with a *French* Letter of Mart Merchant Man, of 18 Guns, and 118 Men, who had the Day before engaged the *Swan* Man of War, and shook her off.

The *Neptune* attack'd her, and Captain *Moses* was wounded one of the first, and carried down; *Lycence* order'd to board, but the Quarter-Master, who steer'd, mistook the Helm, the Sloop fell off, and the *French* pouring in a Volley of small Shot, Captain *Lycence* was kill'd, which being told to *Moses*, as the Surgeon dress'd him, he order'd *North* to the Helm, bid them not be discouraged, and he would be upon Deck immediately. Accordingly he came up as soon as dress'd, laid the Ship on board, where they made a very obstinate Resistance; but the *French* Captain being kill'd, who received eleven Shot before he dropp'd, they, at length, became Masters.

The Privateer lost ten Men, and twenty were wounded: The *French* had fifty Men killed and wounded, among whom was the Captain, who had received two Shot, as he was going down to the Surgeon to get his Blood staunch'd, and came upon Deck just as he was boarded, where, encouraging his Men, he was distinguished and aimed at.

When they had brought the Prize into *Jamaica*, as she was an *English* Bottom, built at *Bristol*, and called the *Crown*, the former Owners sued to have half the Ship and Cargo, and recovered one third.

North went again a Privateering, Captain *Moses* his Ship being not fitted, he would take a second Cruize, and *North* with him. Some Time after their Return, Captain *Moses* being a cruizing in the *Reserve*, *North*, who was ashore, was press'd on board the *Assistance* Man of War; and on the *Reserve's* coming,

being recommended by Captain *Moses* to his own Captain, he was handsomely treated, and made one of the Barge's Crew: He was very easy till the *Assistance* was order'd to *England*, and then, as he was apprehensive of going into a cold Climate, he took his Leave of the Man of War, and said nothing. He then went on board a Privateer again, and made several Prizes, two of which were *English* Bottoms, and sued for by former Owners; *North* thinking it hard to venture his Life, and have Part of his Prize Money taken away, and the Press being hot in *Jamaica*, he resolved to sail no more with the *English*; but went to *Curasoe* into the *Dutch* Service, and sail'd with a *Spanish* Trader to the Coast of *New Spain* several Voyages. In the last he made, they were chased ashore by a couple of *French* Sloops, one of which was commanded by a *Dutchman*, named *Lawrence*, who, with his Comrade, took Possession of their Vessel, and rifled her; the Crew of the Prize called to them, and asked, if they would give them good Quarters? which they promis'd; took them all on board, and used 'em very handsomely.

The *French* gave the Prisoners a small Sloop they took a while after, and they returned to *Curaso*.

He having now forgot his Resentment, he return'd to *Jamaica*, and went on board and cruiz'd in a *Spanish Barca Longa*, of 10 Guns, commanded by Captain *Lovering*, born at *Jamaica*; they cruiz'd three Months in the *West Indies*, and making but a small Hand of it, they put for *Newfoundland*, to try their Fortune on the Banks: Here they met a Man of War, who renew'd their Commission for six Months longer. The first Prize they made was a *French* Ketch, with a *Spanish* Pass, and would have pass'd for a *Spaniard*, but by strict Search, and threatning of the Men, they discovered her to be what she really was, tho' she had, as a *Spaniard*, slipp'd thro' the Fingers of a Man of War before.

They carried their Prize into Harbour, went again upon the Cruize, met with a *French* Letter of Mart Merchant Man, a *Bristol* built Ship, called the *Pelican*, of 18 Guns, and Seventy five Men, half laden with Fish: This Ship stood them a long Argument; they clapp'd her on board, and two of their Men enter'd, but missing lashing, the *Barca Longa* fell a-stern, and the two Men were made Prisoners; however, they came up with her again, clapp'd her on board a second Time, and carried her into the same Port where they had left the Ketch.

They after this put to Sea again, and being discovered by the *French* Settlement ashore, they went into St. *Mary's* Bay, where they fell in with a large *French* Fly-Boat, of 800 Tons, eighty Men, and 18 Guns, and laden with Fish: They chased and came up with her, under *French* Colours; when they were pretty near the *Frenchman* they haled, and ask'd, whence they came? a *Guernsey* Man, at the Bowsprit End, answer'd, from *Petit Guavers*; that they had been

cruizing on the Banks, and were going into the Bay for Refreshment. The *Frenchman* bid them come no nearer, but send their Boat on board; they keeping on the Chase he fired at them, they did not mind this, but run up a long Side and boarded him; the *French* ran to their close Quarters, and disputed the Ship three Quarters of an Hour, when they all call'd for Quarters except one Man, who wou'd take none, but ran like a Madman into the Thick of the *English*, and wounded several, tho' he was soon dispatch'd by their Pistols.

They carried this Prize to join the others, and turning all the Prisoners ashore, except what were necessary to condemn their Prizes; they stood, with a Fleet of four Sail, for *Rhode Island*.

Here they condemn'd the Fly-Boat and Ketch, but found a great Difficulty in getting the *Pelican* condemn'd, the *English* Owners putting in their Claim; but, at length, a *Scotch* Lawyer did their Business, upon leaving 300 l. in his Hands to bear the Charge of any future Suit. Captain *Lovering* dying here, the Ship's Company bought the *Pelican*, broke up the *Barca Longa*, sent her Owners their Shares, and got a Commission for the Master to cruize Southward as far as the Line, and to be valid for eighteen Months certain, two Years allowing for Accidents.

They fitted this Ship for a long Voyage, out of the Joint Stock of the Company; but Iron Hoops being scarce in *New England*, they were obliged to take Casks hoop'd with Wood, which I mention, because it proved the Ruin of their Voyage to the *East Indies* for a whole Year.

They being fitted for the Sea, they set Sail and steer'd for the *Cape of Good Hope*, which they doubled in the Month of *June*, made the best of their Way to *Madagascar*, and went into *Augustine* Bay, where they victualled and watered, but before this was done it was *August*, which was too late to go to the *East-Indies*; which they propos'd to do with Design, to cruize on the *Moors*, not intending to Pyrate among the *Europeans*, but honestly and quietly to rob what *Moors* fell in their Way, and return home with clean Consciences, and clean, but full Hands, within the limited Time of their Commission.

From *Augustine* they went to *Johanna*, and the Provisions they had salted up at *Madagascar* not being well done, it began to spoil; this and their Cloaths wanting Repair, made them desperately resolve to take the King of *Johanna* and make him ransom himself, but the Master wou'd not take Charge of the Ship, being unacquainted with the Coast: They cruiz'd among the Islands, landed at *Comaro*, and took the Town, but found no Booty, excepting some Silver Chains, and check'd Linnen. From hence they went to *Mayotta*, where they took in a *Frenchman* who had been morooned there, and maintain'd by the King; they consulted with him about the surprizing and taking his Town. The *Frenchman*

was averse to it, as he owed him the Obligation of being preserved; however, he was in their Hands, and must do as they would have him: They surrounded the King's House after they had been three Days in his Town, and took him and all the Inhabitants; but the King's Son made his Way thro' the thickest of them with his Cutlash, tho' he was shot afterward. The Pretence they made use of for this inhospitable Manner, was, that the King had poison'd the Crew of a Ship, which was their Consort; he denied it, as well he might, for they themselves never heard of a Ship of the Name they gave this fictitious one. The King they carried on board, the other Prisoners they put into a Sort of a Temple, with a Guard over them of 36 Men.

The Alarm being given in the Country, the Natives came down in a Body of some Thousands, and attack'd the Guard; but the Ship hearing the Fire, and seeing the Hills covered with Blacks, discharged several great Guns, loaded with Patridge, which making a very great Slaughter, obliged them to retire.

The King ransom'd himself for some Silver Chains to the Value of a thousand Dollars, and for what Provision they demanded; and at the setting him ashore, swore Allegiance to them as Masters of the Country, and took an Oath besides, never to poison any more white Men.

After this notable Expedition, they staid here a Fortnight, tho' always on their Guard, and then went back for *Augustine* with about 20 Slaves, they carried away with them for Servants.

Here a Sickness coming among them, they built Huts ashore; they lost, notwithstanding all their Care and Precaution, their Captain and thirty Men, by the Distemper which they contracted; but it abating, they thought of going to Sea again, but on examining their Water Casks, they found the Hoops all worm eaten and rotten, so that there was no Proceeding, but this Defect was repaired by their Cooper, who was an ingenious Fellow; he went into the Woods with the *Mayotta* Slaves, and with Withies and other Stuff he gathered, fitted them up, and made them tight, in acknowledging of which Service, they chose him Captain, and *North* was made Quarter-Master.

At *Augustine* they pick'd up some Straglers, among whom was *David Williams*, and on a Muster, they found they had a hundred and five Men. They then made their Vessel a free Ship, that is, they agreed every Man should have an equal Share in all Prizes; and proceeded for the Mouth of the *Red Seas*.

In the Night, after they had reach'd their Station, they made two Ships, one was the *Mocha* Frigate, of 40 Guns, commanded by *Culliford*: she had been an *East India* Man, and under the Command of one Captain *Stout*; the other Ship was called the *Soldada*, a Ship of 16 Guns, the Captain's Name *Shivers*; they haled one another, and on both Sides gave the same Answers, *from the Seas*, and

upon Agreement, they all lay by that Night: In the Morning they consorted, and agreed to make an equal Division of all Prizes, which any of the three should take from that Time for two Months to come.

The *Pelican* spared Wood, Water, and some of her Hands to Captain *Culliford*, and here *Williams* shifted on board him. About ten Days after, these three had join'd Company a large *Moor's* Ship, on which they afterwards mounted 70 Guns, hove in Sight.

They all gave Chase, but the small Ship came first up with the *Moor*, who exchange'd several Shot with the *Soldada* and *Pelican*; but the *Soldada* clapp'd her on board, and before the *Pelican* could enter a Man, the *Moors* call'd for Quarters: In boarding the *Moor*, she fired a Broadside upon the *Soldada*, but only two Shot hull'd her, and kill'd two Men, which was the only Loss they had in taking a thousand Prisoners, Passengers, and Sailors.

All the Money was carried on board the *Mocha* Frigate, and divided between her Crew and the *Soldada*, excluding without other Reason than *sic volumus*, the *Pelican* from any Share.

The Crew of the *Pelican* expostulated with them, and bid them remember they had spared both Wood and Water, or the *Mocha* could not have kept the Station; instead of any Answer, they receiv'd a Command to be gone, or they would sink them; they answering, they could not go by themselves, wanting the Water and Wood they had spared. The two Consorts gave them a thousand Dollars, and some Water out of the *Moor*, bidding them buy Wood, where they could purchase it, and so left the *Pelican* to her self, going away for the Coast of *Malabar*, where they put the Prisoners and Horses they had taken ashore, sunk the *Soldada*, and thence went to the Isle of *St. Mary's* on *Madagascar*, where the *Moor's* Ship now lies sunk. They shared out of this Prize a thousand Pounds a Man in Silver and Gold besides other Goods; and the two Pyrates amounted to the Number of 350 Men.

The *Pelican* kept the same Station for some Days, when a large *Moor* Ship hove in Sight, they gave Chase, and the *Moor*, not suspecting her for an Enemy, did not endeavour to get away; when the *Pelican* came up, she fired for the *Moor* to bring to, which made him set his small Sails, tho' with the Loss of several Men; for the *Pelican* being close up, brought them down with the small Arms. When the *Moor* had, at length, hove out his small Sails, the *Pelican* could not gain upon him enough to board, tho' she was not a Pistol Shot a-stern; whenever she came upon his Lee Quarter, the *Moor* being a tall Ship, took away the Wind from the *Pelican*, and she could never get to Windward of him. She ply'd her fore Chase all this while, and drove the *Moors* from their stern Chase, but could not, as they endeavour'd to do, strike the *Moors* Rudder, or any other Way

disable him. At length, by the Fear and bad Steerage of the *Moor*, the *Pelican* ran up along Side of them, but as she miss'd lashing, she was obliged to shoot a head; in the mean while the *Moor* Wore round, the *Pelican* put to Stays after him but not Staying, and they being all in Confusion, they Wore also; but in this Time the *Moor* had got the Start, and setting all the Canvas he could pack on his Ship's Back, wrong'd the *Pelican*, and got off.

The Loss of this Ship made the Crew almost distracted, and made, for some Time, a great Division among them, some cursing the Ship for a heavy Sailor, and proposing to return home, others cursing themselves, and the ill Management by which they miss'd lashing, and propos'd going to *Madagascar*, and the breaking her up, since as she was a single Bottom, she must be worm-eaten; but Time, which mollifies the greatest Rage, abated these Contentions, and put an End to the Animosities which sprung from their Disappointment.

They being cool, resolved for the *Malabar* Coast, on which they took three *Moor* Ships in a little Time; the first they discharged, after taking out 6000 Dollars; the second they took for their own Use, mounted her with 26 Guns, and called her the *Dolphin*; the third they sold on the same Coast for 18000 Dollars. Their own Ship they set adrift. From this Coast they made for *Madagascar*, and near the Island *Mascarenas* lost all their Masts in a Hurricane. They put up Jury-Masts, came to St. *Mary's* and new masted. Here they found Captain *Culliford*, Captain *Shivers*, and their Prize, with three Merchant Men from *America*, which were come to trade with them, one of which was the *Pembrook*, commanded by *Samuel Burges*, belonging to *Frederick Phillips*, Merchant at *New-York*. The Captain of the *Dolphin*, and some of the Men being weary of this Life, went home in these Merchant Ships, and the Crew chose one *Samuel Inless*, who lived on the Island, for their Captain; they fitted out for the *Straits* of *Malacca*, where they made several Prizes of *Moor* Ships, but of little value to them.

North on board one of the Prizes, was separated from the rest by bad Weather, and drove to great Straights for Water. The *Moor* Merchant, who was on board with him, and whom he had treated very humanely, shewed him a Draught, by which he came to a small Island not far from the *Dutch* Settlement, and watered. The *Moor* told him, that he ran the Risque of his Life should it be known that he had given him a Sight of this Draught. In return for this Service, when he met with his Companions, he got the *Moor's* Ship discharged.

They, after this, made for *Nicobar*, near *Achen*, and, in the Way, met a large *Dane* Ship, which they plunder'd, and hove down by, clean'd, and return'd to *Madagascar*, where they shar'd their Booty, which was, besides Goods, between 3 and 400 l. a Man. A Month after their Arrival three *English* Men of War appear'd in Sight, the *Anglesea*, Captain *Littleton*, the *Hastings*, Captain *White*,

and the *Lizard*, Captain *Rumsey*. These Ships occasioned their hawling up the *Dolphin*, which, as they could not get her as high as they design'd, they set Fire to.

Commadore *Littleton* brought a Pardon for such of the Pyrates as would accept it, and many of them, among whom were *Culliford* and *Shivers* did, and went home with Merchant Men. *North* accepted it also, but would not trust to it, finding the Time fixed for their Surrender was elapsed before the Men of War arrived.

Most of the Pyrates having left the Isle of St. *Mary's*, where the King's Ships lay, *North* thought it not safe for him to stay, and therefore putting all he had into the *Dolphin's* Boat, he design'd to join his Comrades on the Main of *Madagascar*; but being overset by a Squawl, all the People were lost except himself, who swam four Leagues, and a Negroe Woman, whom he put on the Bottom of the Boat.

Being now on the Main, and quite naked, he frighted the Negroes he met with, as he got out of the Water, for they took him for a Sea-Devil; but one Woman, who had been used to sell Fowls at the white Mens Houses, had the Courage not to run away, and, when he came near, knew him; she gave him half her Petticoat to cover his Nakedness, and calling a Negroe Man who carried her Things, and was run into the Woods; they help'd him to perform his Journey to the Dwelling of some white Men, which was sixteen Miles from the Place where he come on Shore; a great Journey for a Man so feeble with swimming. He was kindly received and cloathed by his Comrades, whom he staid with, till he had recovered his Strength, and then he went to a black Prince of his Acquaintance, with whom he staid till the Arrival of Captain *Fourgette*, which was a full Year.

In this Vessel (which I have already said in *White's* Life was taken) he went round the North-End to the West-Side, and came into *Methelage*, where they surprized the *Speaker*; the Manner of which Surprize is also mentioned in the same Life; and, after the Death of Captain *Booth*, was chosen Captain's Quarter-Master, by *Bowen*, who succeeded in the Voyage, and the Consequences of it are already set down, for he was in the *Speaker* till she was lost.

The next Voyage he made was in the *Speedy Return* (taken from Captain *Drummond*.) in the Capacity of Company's Quarter-Master, with Design to cruise in the *Red Seas*; but touching at the Island of *Mayotta*, they consorted with Captain *Howard*, whom they met with at the Island, as is already said. From thence they went and victualled at *Augustine*, having promised Captain *Bowen* to meet him in two Months; accordingly returning thither, and missing him, they went to *Mayotta* to enquire after him; but hearing there that he was gone a Voyage, and as the Place of Rendezvous was off the Highlands of St.

John's, they steered their Course thither, to join him, and lie for the *Moor's* Fleet from *Mocoa*.

In their Passage they met with a violent Storm, in which they were near foundering, it beat in their Stern, and obliged them to throw over all their Guns (two excepted, which lay in the Hold) and forced them into the Gulf of *Persia*, where they took several small Vessels, which they ripp'd up to mend their Ship.

Being very much in want of Water, having staved all their Casks, to save themselves in the Storm, and meeting with little in the Vessels taken, they hoisted out the Canoe to chase a Fishing Vessel, that they might be inform'd where they should find Water. This Boat made from them with all their Force, but the Ship firing, the People all leap'd into the Water, some of whom were drowned, and the rest got ashoar, except one Man, whom they came up with; but as soon as they thought to lay hold on him, he dived, and kept them in play near an Hour and a half: They would not shoot him, because it did not answer their Ends; but, at length, *North*, who was in the Boat, took the Sprit, and struck at him as he rose, hoping to disable him, but he broke his Jaw. They took him by this Means, brought him on board, sent him to the Surgeon, and when they despair'd of his being able to speak, he asked for a Pipe of Tobacco, which he smook'd, and drunk a Dram; after which he seem'd very hearty. As the Pyrates had on board several black Slaves, who spoke the *East-India* Tongue, one of them was ordered to enquire of him where they might find Water, promising him his Liberty if he would direct them. On this Promise he carried them to a convenient landing Place, where he shewed a Well full of Dirt, out of which, after a great deal of Trouble to come at it, they drew but three Buckets of Water, which sufficed those only who went on Shoar, to the Number of 30. Enraged with this Disappointment after so much Labour, they threaten'd their Prisoner with Death, who told them, if they would have Patience till the Sun was set, they would have Plenty, for the Spring would rise, and flow all Night; which they found to be Fact, and filled twenty Tun of Water, and return'd on board, carrying the Man with them, for whom they made a gathering of some Goods, and about thirty Dollars; these they gave him, and exacted a Promise, that whenever he saw any Ship on that Coast, which made the same Signals they had made, he would go on board and render them what Service he could, assuring him he would always meet with civil Treatment, and be well rewarded.

After this they cruised on the Gulf of *Persia* some Days, in hopes of meeting their Consort, not doubting but she had some Share in the Storm.

The Time of their Consortship being now over, and she not appearing, they steered for the Highlands of *St. John* near *Surat*, the Place of Rendezvous. When they made the Land they spied a tall Ship, and immediately making all clear for

an Engagement, they gave chase. The other Ship doing the like, they soon met, and, to the great Joy of both Parties, she proved their Consort. Upon Enquiry they found the *Prosperous* had been ten Days on this Station, and had not met with the Storm which had so roughly handled the *Speedy Return*, on giving an Account of their Misfortune, viz. their being obliged to throw over their Guns, and a Quantity of Provisions, Captain *Howard* spared them some fresh Provisions, and expressing great Concern for the Accident, renewed his Consortship for two Months longer; that is, they agreed whatever Prizes were taken should be equally divided between the Crews of both Ships. After they had cruised here fourteen Days, they spied seven Sail of tall Ships, which proved to be the *Moors* from *Mocoa*; they both gave Chace, but the *Speedy Return* being the better Sailor first came up with one of them, laid her on board, and carried her in a very little Time, with little more Damage than the Loss of her Bowsprit. The *Prosperous* kept on the Chace, and having Captain *Whaley* on board as a Pilot, took another at an Anchor, as is said (so need not be repeated) in Captain *Howard's* Life.

The *Speedy Return* steered with her Prize for the Coast of *Malabar*, where, by Agreement, she was to wait ten Days for her Consort. In six Days the *Prosperous* joined them, but without any Prize, having rifled her, as is before said in another Life.

Here they made an equal Dividend of their Prizes, burnt the *Speedy Return*, sunk the *Prosperous*, went all on board the *Moor's* Ship, put to Sea, and cruised on this Coast, where they made several Prizes. When they came over against *Cachine*, some black Merchants, Goldsmiths, and several *Dutch* Men, came on board to trade with them, bringing a great many Sequins, and other Gold Coin, to change for *Spanish* Dollars; as many of the Pyrates designed to knock off and return home, they gave 500 Dollars for 200 Sequins, for the Conveniency of close Stowage about them. The Goldsmiths set up their Forges on board the Ship, and were fully employed in making them Buttons, Buckles, and what else they fancied, so that they had a fair Opportunity of putting what Alloy they thought proper. They here also furnished themselves with a good Quantity of Arrack, Provisions, and Stores, and then leaving the Coast, shaped their Course for *Madagascar*, but, in the Way, fell in with the Island of *Mauritius*, and put into a Port called the *North-West Harbour*. Here they wooded and watered. This Port affords great abundance of a poisonous Fish called the *Red-Snapper*, the Nature of which was well known to Captain *Bowen*, who perswaded his Men not to eat of them, but they were in Port, and then are all Commanders, so that this wholesome Advice was thrown away upon them. The Captain seeing their Obstinacy, and that they could not be dissuaded, eat with them, chusing rather to

share the same Fate than be left alone to the Mercy of the *Dutch*, as he was conscious of what he merited.

They supp'd plentifully on the Fish, and drank very heartily after it. Soon after they began to swell in a frightful Manner. The next Morning some Planters came on board with Fowls, Goats, &c. and seeing the Pyrates in a miserable Condition, and some of these Fish lying on the Decks, asked if they had not eat of them? Being answer'd they had, advised their drinking plentifully of strong Liquors, which was the only way to expel the Poyson, which had dispatch'd them all in less Time, had they not done it after their unfortunate Meal. They readily followed this Advice, as the Prescription was agreeable, and by this Means, with the Care of the Surgeons, of whom they had several expert in their Business, and stock'd with good Medicines, they all recovered, four excepted, who paid their Obstinacy with their Lives.

They here heel'd their Ship, scrubb'd, tallow'd, and took in what they wanted. When they had staid three Months in this Port, the Governor sent and desired them to put to Sea, for he expected the Arrival of the *Dutch East-India* Men; they accordingly got every Thing ready, and went out, but left several of their Men behind them, as we have said in *Bowen's* Life.

From hence they steered for *Madagascar*, and in their Passage stopped at *Don Mascarenas*, where they took in a Quantity of Hogs, Goat, Sheep, Fowls of all Sorts, and Green Turtle. Captain *Bowen* here went ashoar with 40 of his Men, having obtained the Governor's Protection by the Force of Presents. These Men design'd to give over their Pyrracy, and return home the first Opportunities offer'd them. In six Months after they had staid here, Captain *Bowen* was taken ill of the dry Belly Ach, a Distemper as rife here as in the *West-India* Islands, and was buried in the Highway, for the Priests would not allow him holy Ground, as he was a Heretick.

But to return; when *Bowen* went ashoar *North* was chosen Captain. The Ceremony of this Installation is, the Crew having made choice of him to Command, either by an unanimous Consent, or by a Majority of Suffrages, they carry him a Sword in a very solemn Manner, make him some Complements, and desire he will take upon him the Command, as he is the most capable among them. That he will take Possession of the great Cabin; and, on his accepting the Office, he is led into the Cabin in State, and placed at a Table, where only one Chair is set at the upper End, and one at the lower End of the Table for the Company's Quarter-Master. The Captain and he being placed, the latter succinctly tells him, that the Company having Experience of his Conduct and Courage, do him the Honour to elect him for their Head, not doubting his behaving himself with his usual Bravery, and doing every Thing which may

conduce to the publick Good; in Confidence of which, he, in the Name of the Company, promised to obey all his lawful Commands, and declared him Captain. Then the Quarter-Master takes up the Sword, which he had before presented him, and he had returned, puts it into his Hand, and says, *This is the Commission under which you are to act, may you prove fortunate to your self and us.* The Guns are then fired round, Shot and all; he is saluted with three Cheers; the Ceremony is ended with an Invitation from the Captain to such as he thinks fit to have dine with him, and a large Bowl of Punch is ordered to every Mess.

Captain *North* leaving this Island steered for *Madagascar*, and came to Cape *Dolphin* at the South End, as is said in *White's* Life, where he came to an Anchor, and took on board some Refreshments, but it blowing hard, he was obliged to put to Sea, and leave his Boat with 30 Men behind him. He ran along the East-Side of the Island, and came to a Place called *Ambonavoula*, in the Latitude of 17, 38. where they put on Shore some of their Goods, and settled themselves among the Negroes, several living in a House; here they lived as Sovereign Princes among the Inhabitants.

The *Moor* Prisoners they kept on board, and allowed them sufficient fresh Provisions. *North* privately bid the Boatswain of the *Moors* take the Advantage of the Land Breeze in the Night Time, and go off with the Ship, and what Goods were left on board; or the Pyrates would soon hawl up the Ship, take every Thing on Shore, and they (marooned there) would never see their own Country again.

Accordingly the Boatswain following this Advice, laid hold of the Opportunity of a dark Night, and communicating his Design to the other *Moors*, whom he did not acquaint with this Advice, as *North* charg'd him not, till he was on the Point of executing his Design, they weigh'd with great Silence and stood to Sea.

The next Morning some of the Pyrates propos'd to go on Board and fetch off some Iron and other Things to trade with in the Country; but they were strangely surpriz'd when they miss'd the Ship; they alarm'd the rest of their Comrades, and went in a Body to Captain *North* to tell him what had happen'd. He answer'd, if the *Moors* were gone off with the Ship, it was their own Fault; they ought to have left a sufficient Number of Hands on Board to have secur'd her; that there was now no Remedy but Patience, for they had no Vessel to pursue with, except they thought the Canoe proper.

Some of the Pyrates thought as she lay in foul Ground the Cable might be cut by some Rock, and the Ship blown off to Sea by that Accident; on starting this, some of them ran up to an Eminence, and from thence spy'd the Ship as far as they could well see, with all Sails set, which was a cruel and convincing Proof

that their Loss was irreparable.

They endeavoured to make themselves easy, since there was no Help; and transporting their Goods to different Abodes, at small Distances, they settled themselves, buying Cattle and Slaves, and lived in a neighbourly Manner one among another five Years; clear'd a great deal of Ground, and planted Provisions as Yamms, Potatoes, &c. The Natives among whom they fix'd, had frequent Broils and Wars among themselves, but the Pyrates interposed, and endeavoured to reconcile all differences; *North* deciding their Disputes not seldom, with that Impartiality and strict Regard to distributive Justice (for he was allowed, by all, a Man of admirable good natural Parts) that he ever sent away, even the Party who was cast, satisfied with the Reason, and content with the Equity of his Decisions.

These Inclinations which the Pyrates shewed to Peace, and the Example they set of an amicable Way of Life; for they carefully avoided all Jars, and agreed to refer all Cause of Complaint among themselves which might arise, to a cool Hearing before *North*, and twelve of their Companions, gave them a great Character among the Natives, who were before very much prejudiced against the White Men. Nay, in this Point of keeping up a Harmony among themselves, they were so exact, that whosoever spoke but in an angry or peevish Tone, was rebuked by all the Company, especially if before any of the Country, tho' even but a Slave, of their own; for they thought, and very justly, that Unity and Concord were the only Means to warrant their Safety; for the People being ready to make War on one another upon the slightest Occasion, they did not doubt but they would take the Advantage of any Division which they might observe among the Whites, and cut them off whenever a fair Opportunity offered.

North often set this before them, and as often made them remark the Effects of their Unanimity, which were, the being treated with great Respect and Deference, and having a Homage paid them as to sovereign Princes. Nature, we see, teaches the most Illiterate the necessary Prudence for their Preservation, and Fear works Changes which Religion has lost the Power of doing, since it has been looked upon as a Trade, and debased by the scandalous Lives of those who think it their Business to teach it only, and, satisfied with the Theory, leave the practical Part to the Laity: For these Men whom we term, and not without Reason, the Scandal of humane Nature, who were abandoned to all Vice, and lived by Rapine; when they judged it for their Interest, not only (politickly) were strictly just, both among themselves, and in composing the Differences of the neighbouring Natives, but grew continent and sober, as no doubt they esteemed their Security to depend on shewing the Blacks they could govern those Passions to which they themselves were Slaves. Its true, they were all Polygamists, but

that was no Scandal among a People who thought the cohabiting with a pregnant Woman a Sin against Nature in acting contrary to her Design, which is by Generation to propagate the animal Race; and who should be guilty of this Crime among them, they esteemed worse than Beasts, which following Nature, obey her Orders exactly, and set Men a Lesson of Prudence. When then, I say, they were continent, I mean they never invaded the Rights either of their Companions, or of the Natives.

The Reader may, perhaps, be well enough pleased to hear how on the smallest Difference they proceeded to a Reconciliation; for, as I have said, it was a Maxim with them, that the least Discord among a few Particulars would be the Ruin of a whole Body; as from a small neglected Spark, a general Conflagration may arise and lay the noblest City waste.

On any Mistake from which a Dispute arose, or on any ill-manner'd Expression let fall in Company, they all broke up, and one of the Company poured what Liquor was before them on the Ground, saying, no Contention could creep in among them without Loss; and therefore he sacrificed that Liquor to the evil Fiend, to prevent a greater Damage. Then both the contending Parties, on Pain of being banished the Society, and sent to another Part of the Island, were summon'd to appear at Captain *North's*, the next Morning, and, in the mean while, they were commanded to keep their respective Houses.

The next Morning both the Parties being met, and all the Whites summon'd to attend, the Captain set the Plaintiff and Defendant on one Side, and told them, that till the Aggressor had consented to do Justice, and till the Person injured had forgot his Resentment, they must esteem them both Enemies to the Publick, and not look upon them as their Friends and Companions. He then wrote down the Names of all the Assembly, roll'd them up, and put them into a Hat, out of which, each Party shaking the Hat, chose six Tickets; and these twelve Rows or Tickets contained the Names of the assistant Judges, who, with the Captain, heard and determined in the Cause, calling and examining the Witnesses. When the Matter was fully debated, the Court was adjourned to the next Day, and the Litigators commanded to appear again, and, in the Interim, not to stir out their Houses, to which they were respectively conducted by two or three each, lest the Slaves, or the neighbouring Blacks, should, by a greater Number, have any Suspicion of their Disagreement.

The second Day the Examination began afresh, and the Witnesses were sifted, as if they had not before been examined, and this to try if they were consistent with their former Evidence, which was noted down. Then the Court was again adjourned, and the disagreeing Parties remanded home till next Morning, when Judgment was given, which was a Fine in Proportion to the Affront.

The Reason of confining those who had Dissension was to deter them, by this small Punishment, from all future Quarrels, and to prevent any ill Accident which might happen by their being at full Liberty.

The Example they set, and the Care they took to accommodate Differences among their Neighbours, had calmed all the Country round them. After they had staid here near three Years, Captain *North*, and some of his Companions, had a Mind to visit the Country Southward, and trade for more Slaves and Cattle; to which End taking a considerable Quantity of Powder and Arms, beside what they might use, with 50 Whites and 300 Natives, he set forward on his Journey. When they had travelled about fourscore Miles Southward, they came to a Nation rich in Slaves and Cattle, who inhabited the Banks of the largest River on the East-Side the Island, called *Mangora*. With these People he trafficked for a great Number of Slaves and Cattle, which he purchased for Guns and Powder: They being at War when Captain *North* came among them, with a neighbouring Prince, he was intreated to give his Assistance, for which they, the *Mangorians*, promised him a hundred Slaves with 500 Head of Cattle, and all the Prisoners they should take. On these Conditions he joined them, and marched to a very large Town of the Enemy's, which was naturally very strong, and esteemed by the Natives impregnable, being situated on a high and craggy Rock, which could be ascended by the Way only leading to the Gate, where was kept a strong Guard. The Blacks in *North's* Army were for leaving this Town unattempted, and marching farther into the Country, in search of Booty; but *North* told 'em it was not safe to leave a Garrison of Enemies at their Backs, which would continually infest them, by falling on their Rear, and which would be an Obstacle to their carrying off what Plunder they might get together; beside, it would be an Azyle for all the Country, which would fly thither till they had gather'd a Body considerable enough to come down and face them in the Field, which the Enemy might do with reasonable Hopes of Success, as their Men would be all fresh, while those of his Party would be fatigued with Marches, may be encumbered by Plunder, and worn down with the Inconveniencies of lying exposed in the Fields.

The chief of his Allies allowed his Reasons good, were an Attempt on the Town practicable, which Experience told him was not; for, tho' several times besieged, it never could be taken, it would be the Loss of a great deal of Time, and many Mens Lives to offer at it.

North desired he would leave the Management of this Siege to him.

The Chief answered, he should do as he pleased, but it was against his Judgment to attack a Town which Nature her self had fortified, which God Almighty would never suffer to be taken, and which had, to no Purpose, cost the

Lives of a Number scarce to be told, of his Countrymen, in the several Attempts they had made to be Masters of it.

North disposed his Army, and invested the Rock on every Side, then sent Word to the Town, if they did not surrender he would give no Quarter to either Sex or Age. The Inhabitants laugh'd at his Message, told him, they did not believe he had learnt the Art of flying, and till he had, they thought themselves very secure from his putting such Menaces in Execution.

Out of the White Men, *North* chose 30, whom he set at the Head of 3 Companies, consisting of 100 Blacks each; and as he had some Grenade-Shells with 'em, soon dispersed the Guard at the Foot of the Rock, and made a Lodgment; tho' the Blacks were acquainted with Fire-Arms, the Shells were entirely new to them, and as they saw their terrible Effect, threw down their Arms, and gained the Middle of the Rock, where they had another *Corps de Garde*, tho' not without some Loss. Those who were at the Bottom of the Rock being put to flight, *North* sent 10 Whites and 500 Blacks to take that Post, and Orders to the other Whites to mount the Rock, and having beat that Guard, if possible, to enter the Town with them. They accordingly ascended in this Order, as the Road was so narrow, only three could pass on a-breast, and the Enemy, when within Cast of a Dart, threw down a Shower upon them, three unarmed Blacks with their Shields march'd before three small Shot Men, and shelter'd them from the Enemies Weapons; these were followed by others, with the same Precaution, the White Men being mix'd with those who thus went up, that is to say, one White Musketeer to two Blacks.

The Enemy seem'd resolute to defend the Pass, but when they had, to no Purpose, spent a Number of Darts, and had lost some Men by the Shot, they swiftly took to the Top of the Rock, where, joined with fresh Men from the Town, they made a Stand and Shew of Resistance; *North's* Men followed, and pouring in a Volley, put them into Confusion, which gave the Assailants an Opportunity to come near enough to throw in their Shells, half a dozen of which bursting with considerable Damage, and the Slaughter of several Men, they thought to shelter themselves in the Town, but the Inhabitants fearing the Enemy's entering with them, shut the Gates against both, so that the Blacks of *North's* Army, notwithstanding all the Whites could do to the contrary, made a great Slaughter; however, they saved some, whom they sent Prisoners to the Camp, desiring, at the same Time, a Supply of Powder to make a Petarde.

In the mean while the Enemy from the Town threw a prodigious Quantity of Darts, which the Besiegers received upon their Shields, at least, the greater Part.

The Town was again summon'd, but they refus'd to surrender, wherefore, they were obliged to shelter themselves as well as they could, and expect the

Powder from the Camp; tho' in the mean while, the small Shot from without being warmly plied, made the throwing Darts from the Town less frequent, for none could shew his Head but with the greatest Danger.

When the Powder came, they cut down and hollowed a Tree, which they filled with Powder, and plugg'd up very tight, and under the Protection of their Shields and Muskets got it to the Gate, under which they dug a Hole large enough to receive it, then setting Fire to the Fuze, it burst with a terrible Crack, tore their Gate to Shatters, and left an open Passage, which the Besiegers, who had been join'd with 500 more Blacks, who came up with the Powder, enter'd, and began a very great Slaughter; the Whites protected all they could who submitted, but notwithstanding their Diligence, the Town was strew'd with dead and dying Men. At length what with being tir'd, and what with Persuasion, the Slaughter ceas'd, the Town was reduced to Ashes, and the Conquerors return'd to the Camp with 3000 Prisoners, whom his Allies led to their own Quarters, where calling out, the old Women, Children, and useless Slaves, they sent them to *North*, as if by these, they thought themselves releas'd from the Promise made to induce his Assistance.

When *North* saw the Dishonesty of these People, he sent for their Prince, and told him, 'According to Agreement all the Slaves belong'd to him; nay, according to Justice he alone had a Right to them, since he despair'd of taking the Town, so far as to dissuade his besieging it; and that he not only owed to him their Success, but even the Safety of his Army, and all the Plunder they should make in the Prosecution of the War, for Reasons already given, and by himself allow'd to be good. That he thought he had allied himself with a People of Integrity, but he was sorry to say, he found himself quite mistaken in his Opinion, since they were so far from making good their Treaty; that they sent him out of the Slaves taken, instead of all, those only whom they knew not what to do with; that they must not imagine him so blind as not to perceive how disingenuously he was dealt with; or that he wanted either Strength or Resolution to resent the Usage.'

He then ask'd what was become of a Number of young and handsome Women he had seen among the Captives?

The Prince answer'd, 'That those he enquired after were his and his Countrymens Relations, and as such they could not consent to, nor could he require their being made Slaves.'

This Answer made, the Chief left him; as it was delivered in a pretty haughty Tone, it did not a little nettle both *North* and his Comrades; the latter were for immediately doing themselves Justice, but the former begg'd they would have Patience and rely on him; they followed his Advice, and he sent an Interpreter,

who privately enquired among the Women what Relation they had to the People of the River; the Prisoners answered, that some of their Forefathers had inter-married with that Nation.

I must here take Notice, that notwithstanding the Inhabitants of *Madagascar* have but one Language which is common to the whole Island, the Difference of the Dialect in different Nations makes it very difficult for any but the Natives, or those who have been a great many Years (more than *North* and his Companions had been) among them to understand them perfectly, which is the Reason he made use of an Interpreter, as well between him and the Chief, as between the Slaves and him.

When he had received this Answer from the Prisoners, he went to the Prince, and told him, 'It was very odd he should make War on his Relations, however, he should keep them since he declared them such, till he could prove his Right better than the Prince could his Nearness of Blood; that as he had once taken them, he would try if he could not support the Justice of his Claim, and bid him therefore be upon his Guard, for he openly declared, he was no longer the Ally, but the profess'd Enemy of faithless People.'

Saying this, he and his Blacks separated themselves from the *Mangorians*, and *North* divided them into Companies, with his White Men at the Head of each, and order'd them to fire Ball over the Heads of their late Allies; the first Volley was a prodigious Astonishment to the *Mangorians*, several of whom ran away, but *North* firing two more immediately, and marching up to them, brought the Prince and the Head Officers of his Army to him, crawling on all four; they (as the Custom of shewing the greatest Submission is among them) kiss'd the Feet of the Whites, and begg'd they would continue their Friendship, and dispose of every Thing as they thought proper.

North told him, 'Deceit was the Sign of a mean and coward Soul; that had he, the Prince, thought too considerable, what, however, was justly his Due, because not only promised to, but taken by him, he ought to have expostulated with him, *North*, and have told him his Sentiments, which might have, it was possible, made no Division, for neither he nor his Men were greedy or unreasonable; but as the Prince had not the Courage publicly to claim the Slaves, he would have basely stolen them by false Pretences of Kindred, it was a Sign he did not think such Claim justifiable, as certainly it was not, for all his Captains could witness their Prince had agreed the Prisoners taken should be given to the Whites, and his Companions, a sufficient Title, to mention no other. That he had resolved to shew them, by a severe Chastisement, the Abhorrence those of his Colour have to Ingratitude and Deceit, and what Difference there was in fighting on the Ground of Justice, and the supporting Wrong and Injury; but as they

acknowledg'd their Error, he should not only forgive but forget what was past, provided no new Treachery, in his Return, which he resolved upon, refresh'd his Memory.' He then order'd them to bring all the Slaves, and they punctually complied without Reply.

North chose out the finest and ablest among them, and dividing the whole Number of Prisoners into two equal Bands, he kept that in which he had placed the chosen Slaves, and sent the other to the Prince, telling him, 'tho' neither Fraud nor Compulsion could wring a Slave from him, yet Justice, as some of his Troops had shared the Danger, and a generous Temper, had sent him that Present, which was half the Spoil; tho' he could not think of going any farther on with the War, that he ought to content himself with the taking a Town they thought impregnable, and blame his own Conduct, if he should continue in the Field, and hereafter find the Want of his Assistance.'

The Prince and his People admired the Penetration, Bravery, and Generosity of the Whites, and sent them Word, 'He was more obliged to them for the Lesson they had taught him by their Practice, than for the Slaves they had presented him, tho' he esteem'd the Present as he ought. That for the future he should have an Abhorrence from every mean Action, since he had learned from them the Beauty of a candid open Procedure. At the same Time he thank'd him for the Present, and the not suffering his Resentment to go farther than the frightening him into his Duty; for he was sensible his Balls were not fir'd over their Heads, but by Orders proceeding from the Humanity of the Whites, who, he observed, tender over the Lives of their Enemies, contrary to the Custom of his Countrymen, who give Quarter to none, the Females and Infants excepted, that there may hereafter be none to take Revenge; he begg'd, that he would suffer their Submission to get the better of his Design to depart.' This could not prevail, the Whites and their Friends, who came with them, turn'd their Faces towards home, taking their Slaves and Cattle with them; tho' the *Mangorians* were sensibly touch'd at the Obstinacy of *North's* Resolution, yet they parted very amicably.

As the Whites were returning home with their Company, they fell in with another Nation, the *Timouses*, whose Prince join'd *North*, with 500 Men, and swore a strict Amity with him and his Crew.

The Ceremony used among the Natives, as it is uncommon, so an Account of it may, perhaps, be agreeable to my Readers. The Parties, who swear to each other, interweave their Toes and Fingers, so that they must necessarily sit very close to each other. When they have thus knit their Hands and Feet, they reciprocally swear to do each other all friendly Offices, to be a Friend or Enemy to the Friend or Enemy of the Party to whom they swear; and if they falsify the Oath they make, they imprecate several Curses on themselves, as may they fall by the Lance, be devoured by the Alligator, or struck dead by the Hand of God; then an Assistant scarifies each of the contracting Parties on the Chest, and wiping up the Blood with a Piece of Bread, gives this bloody Bread to each of

them to eat, that is, each eats the Blood of the other; and this Oath whether it be with equal Parties, or with a Prince and his Subject, where the one promises Protection, and the other Obedience (which was the Nature of that taken between *North* and this Prince) is look'd upon inviolable, and they have few Examples of its being broken; but where any has been wicked enough to violate this solemn Oath, they say, they have been ever punish'd according to their Imprecations.

As this Prince had War with powerful Neighbours, he left his Country, taking with him all his great Men, Wives, and Relations, and with a Company of about 500 fighting Men, followed *North*, and settled by him, where he staid two Years, the Time *North* staid; during this Space, being supplied with Arms, Powder, and several Natives by Captain *North*, he made several Inroads into his Enemies Countries, and made all he conquer'd, swear Allegiance to Capt. *North*.

At the Expiration of two Years, Captain *Halsey* came in with a Brigantine, as is said in the Life of Captain *White*.

This Crew having made a broken Voyage were discontented with their Captain, and desired *North* to take the Command upon him; but he declined it, saying, *Halsey* was every Way as capable, and that they ought not to depose a Man, whom they could not tax with either Want of Courage or Conduct; and for his Part, he would never take the Command from any who did not justly merit to be turn'd out, which was not *Halsey's* Case.

The Crew were not, however, satisfied, and they made the same Offer to *White*, but by *North's* Industry, they were, at last, prevail'd on to continue their old Commander; and as *North* and his Companions had expended their Money in the settling their Plantations, and wanted Cloaths, the former, therefore, accepted of the Quarter-Master's Post under *Halsey*, and the others went in the Capacity of private Gentlemen Adventurers, I mean plain foremast Men, as may be gathered in the Life of that Pyrate, to which I refer for an Account of the Expedition they made in the *Red Seas*, beginning at Page 113. Captain *Halsey* on board a Prize left *North* to command the Brigantine they set out in.

The two Commanders were separated by a Storm, but both made for *Madagascar*; *Halsey* got to *Ambonavoula*, but *North* fell in with *Maratan*, where, finding the Brigantine was very much worm eaten, and made a great Deal of Water, with one Consent they took ashore all their Goods, and laid up their Vessel.

They were all very well received; the King being then at War with his Brother, *North* prevail'd on his Majesty's Sister to pass her solitary Hours with him; at the King's Return, having defeated his Brother, he was very much incens'd against *North*, for being so free with the Royal Family, and resolved to fine him 200 Sequins for the Affront done to his illustrious House; but *North*

having some Inkling of his Design, pacified him, by making a Present of one hundred.

The Pyrates continued here a whole Year, when being desirous to go to *Ambonavoula*, they ask'd the King's Assistance to build a Boat, and he for 1000 Dollars, set Negroes to work, under the Directions of Captain *North*, and a Vessel of 15 Tons was set up and launch'd with great Dispatch.

In this Boat they went to a River, called *Manangaro*, thirty Leagues to the Northward of *Maratan*: Here some of their Comrades came to them in a Boat belonging to the *Scotch* Ship *Neptune*, and help'd to transport their Goods to *Ambonavoula*, where he had before settled, and had a Woman and three Children.

He had not been long return'd before his neighbouring Natives reported, that the *Timouses*, who had followed him from the Southward, had a Design to rebel against, and murder him and the other Whites, which giving too easy Credit to, he made War upon, and drove these poor People out of the Country.

Some Time after he built a Sloop, and went to *Antonguil*, where he purchas'd 90 Slaves, and took in the Scots Supercargo, Mr. *George Crookshank*, with a Design to carry him to *Mascarenas*; but all his Comrades were against it, saying, when he got to *Europe* he would prove their Destruction. *North* answered, nothing could be more cruel, after they had taken the greater Part of what the poor Gentleman had, than to keep him from his Country, Family, and Friends; for his Part were he his Prisoner, he should not ask their Consents in doing an Act of Humanity, and the only one they were able towards making him some Reparation, since they could not return his Goods, which were parcel'd out into so many Shares.

On *North's* saying thus much, they put the Affair in Question to the Vote, and there being many who had Obligations to *North*, and whom he influenced in Favour of the Supercargo, 48 out of 54 voted for the discharging him. *North* having gained this Point, the Pyrates ask'd if he also designed to take with him one *J. B.* a great Favourite of his, who had been Midship Man on board the *Neptune* (a young *Scotch* Man, who was a good Artist, a thorough Seaman, and very capable of taking on him the Command in any Voyage) he answered there was a Necessity of taking him, since he should want his Assistance in the Voyage; as he depended on his Knowledge, his Companions said *J. B.* would certainly give him the Slip, which would be a Loss to them all, as he was an Artist, and a clean hail young Fellow, and therefore his being detained was necessary to their common Good. To this *North* answered, his own Security would oblige his taking Care that he should not get from him, since no other on board was capable to find the Way back to *Ambonavoula*.

He went to *Mascarenas*, where the Supercargo and his Negroe were put on Shore with all the Money he had, which was about 1600 Dollars; for when the Pyrates made Prize of the *Neptune*, in the Manner already said, they took none of the Money, they themselves had before paid for Liquors, &c. either from the Captain, Supercargo, or any other on board; for that, they look'd upon it a base, as well as dishonest Action, but for the Ship and remaining Part of the Cargo, they had a fair Title to, viz. they wanted both. It is true, they made the Merchants of the *Greyhound* refund what Money they had taken; but before the Reader taxes them with Injustice, and acting against the above Maxim, let him consider Circumstances, and call to Mind the whole Story.

They did not take that Ship, on the contrary, they sent her away well victualled, and provided with Necessaries for her Voyage; and, I hope, it will be allow'd, they had a lawful Claim to her, as she belong'd to an Enemy, and came into a Port of theirs, without a Pass: Again, they did not rob these Merchants of the Money they had before laid out with them, but took it in Payment for the Liquors they had put on board the *Greyhound*, out of the *Neptune*, which the Merchants themselves, if they had any Honesty, could not expect for nothing: But let us suppose they had taken this Money by Force, and not traded for it on the fair Foot, as its evident they did; yet, was it no more than an Act of Justice, such as might reasonably be expected from the Probity of these Gentlemen, who never suffer an ill Action to go unpunished: And no Body can justify the Proceedings of those Merchants who advised the seizing the Scots Ship. But to return.

North would not suffer *J. B.* to go ashore; however, to make him amends for his Confinement, he gave him four Negroes, whom he sold for 300 Dollars, and took Care that he should live plentifully and well on board. *North's* Business, at this Island, was to get Leave to carry his Children there to be educated in the Christian Faith, which after some rich Presents made the Governor, he obtained, and return'd to *Madagascar*. In the Voyage, as *J. B.* was very greatly in his Favour, and his Confident, he told him, his Design was to leave his Children at *Mascarenas*, and place Fortunes for them in the Hands of some honest Priest, who would give them a Christian Education (for he thought it better to have them Papists, than not Christians) and would then go back to *Maratan*, and endeavour, by his Penitence, to make Attonement for his former Life, and never more go off the Island on any Account; that he would give his Sloop to *J. B.* with two hundred Dollars, that he might find some Means to return home, since he very wisely refus'd to join with the Pyrates.

When he came on the *Madagascar* Coast, he heard a *French* Ship had touch'd there, and left some Men behind her; upon which Account, *North* ran to the

Southward 100 Leagues out of his Way, to enquire after and assist these People: A Piece of Humanity which ought not to be pass'd by in Silence, for it may shame not a few among us who carry a Face of Religion, and act with greater Barbarity than those whom we hunt and destroy as a Nuisance to the World, and a Scandal to the Name of Man. If any thinks this Reflection severe, let him examine into the Number of Thousands who are perishing in Goals, by the Cruelty of Creditors, sensible of their Inability to pay: Let him take a View of the Miseries which reign in those Tombs of the Living, let him enquire into the Number of those who are yearly starved to Death, to gratify an implacable Spirit, and then, if he can, clear the *English* Laws, which allow a Creditor to punish an unfortunate Man, for his being so, with the most cruel of all invented Deaths, that of Famine; let him, I say, clear them from the Imputation of Barbarity. I beg Pardon for this Digression, which my Concern for the *English* Character, for this only Reason sunk among Foreigners forced me into.

North found but one Man, whom he took home with him, cloathed and maintained him. When he came back to *Ambonavoula*, he found the Country all in an Uproar, and the Rest of his Companions preparing for a War with the Natives, but his Arrival restor'd their former Quiet. After four Months Stay at home, he fitted his Sloop to go out and purchase Slaves at *Antonguil*; but finding few there to his Mind, for in two Months he bought but forty, he return'd to his Settlement. He design'd now to carry his Children to *Mascarenas*, but dissuaded on Account of the Season, by *J. B.* he went to *Methelage* on the West Side of the Island, to trade for Samsams.

Having purchas'd a considerable Quantity of Samsams he went to *Johanna*, and thence to *Mayotta*, return'd again to *Madagascar*, but not being able to get round the North End, on Account of the Current, he put for *Mayotta* again; on the West Side of this Island put into a Port, called *Sorez*, where, some Time before, came a Ship from *England* to trade, commanded by one *Price*, who going ashore with his Doctor was detained (as was also his Boat's Crew) till he redeem'd himself and Surgeon, with 200 Barrels of Powder and 1000 Small Arms; but was forced to leave his Boat's Crew, not having wherewithal to ransom them, tho' the Demand was only two Small Arms for each Man. These poor Creatures were afterwards sold to the *Arabians*; in Revenge *North* and his Crew landed, burnt a large Town, and did all the Damage they could. From *Mayotta* he went again to *Madagascar*, where a King of his Acquaintance told him, the Whites and Natives were at War at *Ambonavoula*; he bought thirty Slaves, refreshed his Crew, and went home. On the News of his Arrival the Natives sent to conclude a Peace, but he would not listen to them; on the contrary, rais'd an Army, burnt a Number of Towns, and took a great many

Prisoners.

This Success brought the Natives to sue in a very humble Manner for a Cessation of Arms, that a general Peace might follow: This he agreed to about four Months after his Arrival.

His Enemies, having now the Opportunity, corrupted some of his neighbouring Natives, and in the Night surprized and murder'd him in his Bed. His Comrades, however, being alarmed, took to their Arms, drove the treacherous Multitude before them with great Slaughter; and to revenge *North's* Death continued the War seven Years, in which Time they became Masters of all the Country round, and drove out all who did not swear Allegiance to them.

North had his Will lying by him, which directed *J. B.* to carry his Children to *Mascarenas*, in his Sloop which he left to the said *J. B.* who was at the Charge to fit her up, and laid out the greater Part of the Money *North* bequeathed him; but the Pyrates would not suffer him to stir while the Wars lasted, fearing he would not return, having never join'd them in any Pyracies; and therefore, by one Consent, setting Fire to the Sloop, they detained him several Years, if he is not still there.

FINIS.





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As explained in the [beginning of the book](#), pages 145-256 have been wrongly numbered in the print. This has been corrected here.

The original text had in four places white spaces of the size of approximately one word, left out for unknown reasons. These have been marked by ".....".

On [page 289](#), the name of [Mary Stead](#) appears instead of Anne Bonny. This has been preserved as in the original.

On [page 308](#), George Bendal is erroneously listed twice in a [list of nine men](#), making it ten names in total. This has remained uncorrected.

On [page 337](#), [an opening bracket](#) is never closed.

The original spelling was mostly preserved. A few obvious typographical errors were silently corrected. Further careful corrections are listed here (before/after):

- ... to St. Mary's; Captain Mosson and his Crew cut off; the two ...
... to St. Mary's; Captain [Misson](#) and his Crew cut off; the two ...
- ... They staid here all the Mousson Time, which ...
... They staid here all the [Monsoon](#) Time, which ...
- ... they sail'd to St. Mary's, where Captain Mosson's ...
... they sail'd to St. Mary's, where Captain [Misson](#)'s ...
- ... he wanting a Boom, took out the Mainmost of ...
... he wanting a Boom, took out the [Mainmast](#) of ...
- ... Company, to go to the Coast of Angela for ...
... Company, to go to the Coast of [Angola](#) for ...
- ... In the taking this Ship, the Captain and his chief ...
... In the taking [of](#) this Ship, the Captain and his chief ...
- ... Man saw they would take away his Ship, he told ...
... Man saw they would take away his Ship, he [sold](#) ...
- ... Side the Island, the Principalities are mostly reduced ...
... Side [of](#) the Island, the Principalities are mostly reduced ...
- ... either of their Compations, or of the Natives. ...
... either of their [Companions](#), or of the Natives. ...

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